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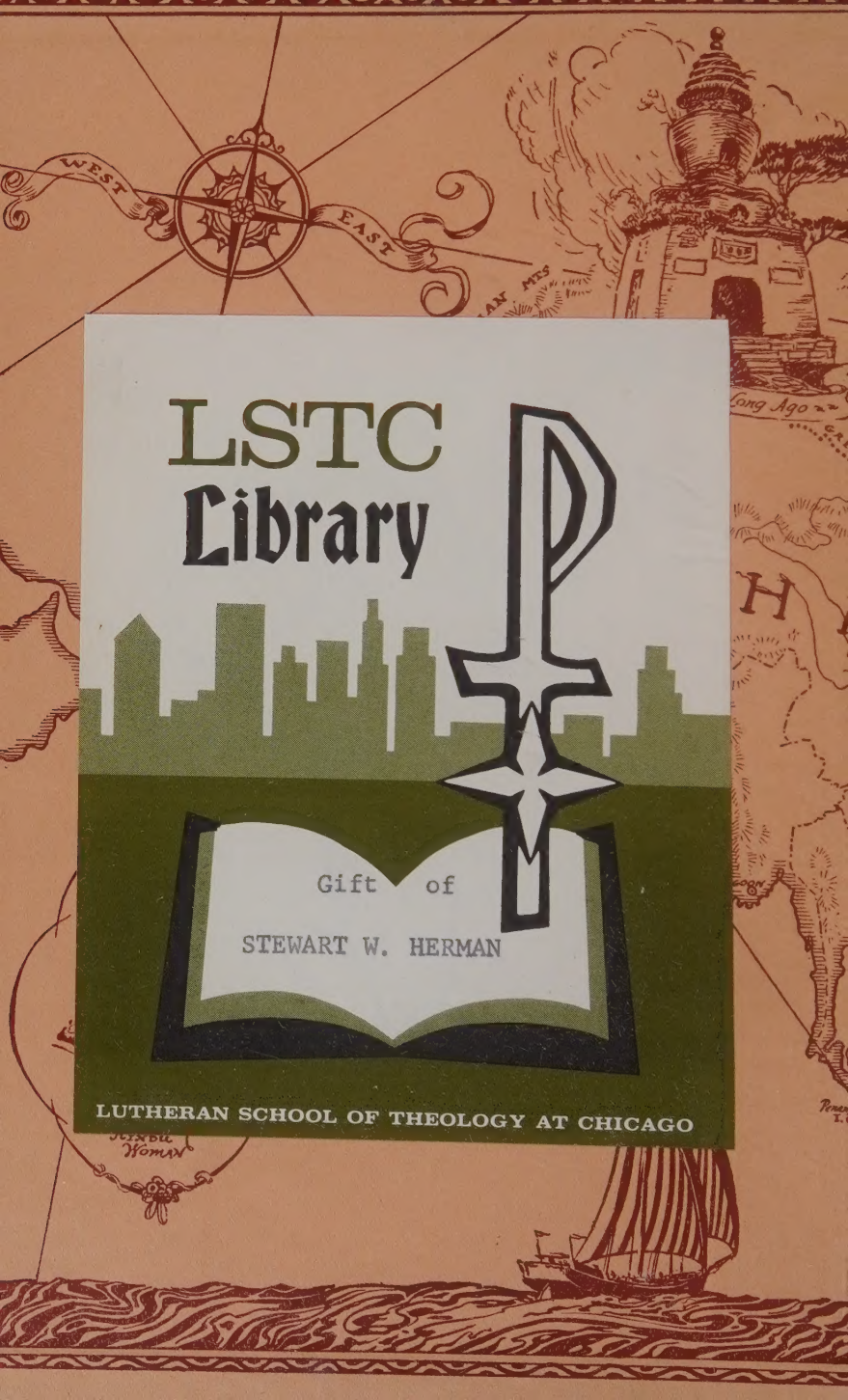
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ORIENTAL AND OCCIDENTAL CULTURE

AN INTERPRETATION

STUDENT DEMONSTRATION JULY 18, 1925, IN FRONT OF THE IMPERIAL PALACE AND OPPOSITE THE BRITISH LEGATION, PEKING

ORIENTAL AND OCCIDENTAL CULTURE

AN INTERPRETATION

BY

MAURICE PARMELEE

Author of "The Science of Human Behavior," "Personality and Conduct," "The New Gymnosophy," "Criminology," "Poverty and Social Progress," "Blockade and Sea Power," etc.

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PREFACE

No one of the many books concerning the Orient furnishes a comprehensive survey of Oriental in comparison with and in its relation to Occidental culture. The casual and superficial descriptions which pour from the presses need not detain us here. Many of the topics which I discuss have been treated intensively by competent scholars. But, so far as I know, the facts gathered in their studies have not been organized and correlated by any author so as to describe and illustrate graphically the significant and essential differences between Oriental and Occidental culture and the interpenetration which results from contact.

While it is impossible to accomplish this fully in one book, I have attempted to cover some of its more important aspects. Among the topics discussed are the cultural boundaries between East and West, the part played in life by religion, the modes of thinking and the resulting ideas and ideals, the failure of the Orient to develop science, the family system, democracy, certain of the more subtle aspects of social organization, the seclusion of women, the recognition of sex, recreation such as the theater, dancing and sport, the attitude toward nature and art, the fate of missions, Oriental nationalism and imperialism, the influence of Western political theory, the menace of industrialization, the linguistic bond, and the Chinese and Indian cultural zones.

The reader not interested in the anthropological and historical aspects may omit Chapter II, or return to it after completing the book when it will possess more significance for him.

Many friends and acquaintances aided me in securing information in the Orient, to all of whom I am deeply grateful.

Among them are Mr. T. Shoa of the Waichiao Pu (Foreign Office), Peking, Mr. Shoichi Imamura of Tokio, Mr. Toraji Makino of the Osaka Prefectural Government, Messrs. Boshi Sen and Nirmal Chunder Chunder of Calcutta, Professor Indra of the Arya Samaj in Delhi, Professor N. A. Thoothi of Bombay University, and Mr. P. G. de Souza of the Government of Mysore.

MAURICE PARMELEE

New York
August 1928

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PART I

DESCRIPTION AND COMPARISON

"I HAVE EXPLAINED THE QUALITIES OF NATIONAL CUSTOMS AND CLIMATIC CHARACTERISTICS. MORAL CONDUCT IS NOT CONSTANT AND TASTES VARY; WHERE MATTERS CANNOT BE THOROUGHLY VERIFIED, ONE MAY NOT BE DOGMATIC."

—*Yuan Chwang*

(Chinese pilgrim to India, A.D. 629-645)

ORIENTAL AND OCCIDENTAL CULTURE

Chapter I

EAST AND WEST IN NIPPON

As we came to dock in Yokohama, I gazed curiously down for my first close view of Japan. Here stood a man in a flowing kimono. There was one also in native garb but wearing a stiff black hat. Another was clothed entirely in European style. All of the women wore native garments. This was a scene typical of Japan. Especially in the cities there is the greatest diversity ranging from Japanese to European dress, with all degrees of combination. The women, however, cling much more tenaciously to their colorful garb.

The reporters photographed and interviewed me in American style. A Japanese friend, educated in America and clad in Western attire, came on board to greet me. He said that he had already arranged three lectures for me to give. "But I came here to learn, not to teach," I exclaimed in dismay. "I understand," he replied, "but this will help you to meet the Japanese."

Later I strolled through the narrow streets of Tokio and gazed wonderingly at the gaudy banners flaunted gaily before the little shops and bearing announcements in a graphic script. Half to myself I murmured, "How picturesque it is!" My friend, looking bored at this banal remark, replied that he considered the scene tawdry. This illustrated the universal truth, that what seems picturesque to the stranger is commonplace to the native. The stranger may, nevertheless,

discern the significance of some things which, owing to habituation, are overlooked by the native.

In Tokio I stayed at a new hotel nine stories high, the tallest building in the city. In the Maruno-uchi district, and adjoining the Ginza, the principal street, are many tall buildings. Elsewhere stretches an endless vista of one- and two-story wooden houses. Despite the great congestion of population, in the center stands the Imperial Palace, the ancient castle of Yedo, with its walls and broad moat. Its circumference is said to be at least six miles. This vast space is withdrawn from the urgent needs of the capital. A Japanese student said to me: "The center of London is the Bank, of Tokio the Imperial Palace."

In the Imperial Palace at Kyoto I was shown the throne room and other apartments furnished and decorated in Japanese style. Then the attendant informed me that the section reserved for the use of the imperial family is exclusively European. In dress, diet, and furniture this is largely true of the life of the court. But important qualifications should be made.

At one of the ministries in Tokio I was informed that an imperial princess wished to invite me to tea and asked whether or not I could attend. Two hours later a special messenger appeared at my hotel with a formidable invitation which I could not read. But it contained the card of a man who described himself as "Master of the Household of H.I.H. the Princess H—— F——, Master of the Ceremonies of H.I.M. the Emperor." It stated that "Her Imperial Highness Princess H—— F—— is pleased to invite you to tea at her temporal Palace on the 25th (Monday) at 3 P.M."

This gentleman received me at the palace and stated that some one was addressing the princess. I offered to wait, but he ushered me immediately into her presence. In a room furnished in mixed style the princess, in native garb, sat on a chair. Ranged in a semicircle in front of her stood in

a most reverential attitude about a dozen men and women clad in somber black. I had been informed that I was expected to wear a frock coat or cutaway. As I have never possessed such garments, I was forced to attend in ordinary clothing. A woman with folded hands was speaking to the princess. When her address terminated, the master of the household introduced me to her Imperial Highness.

Artificial distinctions mean nothing to me, and human beings everything. So I followed my natural impulse by advancing, saying, "I am very glad to meet you," and extending a friendly hand. A look of surprise passed over the princess's face as she hastily shook hands. It did not occur to me until later that a commoner should not touch royalty. But never for a moment did I regret having acted like a human being and not as an automaton.

In another room, seated at tables, we were served a meal which effectually destroyed my appetite for dinner. I am no wine-bibber, but I judged from its taste and appearance that the wine was not the native sake but a claret, and most of the food was European. After the meal I chatted with the guests, all of whom are engaged in work for the public welfare. When I left, the master of the household expressed the hope that I would give "much good advice" to the Japanese during my stay in their land.

The cult of the imperial family, aggressively propagated by Shinto, the national religion, maintains a strong hold. And yet this ceremony was no more futile than when royal and titled ladies and millionairesses waste the time of busy people in European and American countries.

While I was in Tokio a traffic survey was held in order to regulate the traffic and relieve the congestion in the streets. A few days later was observed a "time day" to encourage correct timepieces and punctuality. Not once have I traveled on a Japanese train which did not depart and arrive precisely on time. And yet there is another side to this story.

The calendar is regulated by the imperial reigns. In 1927 Nippon passed from the Taisho era into a new reign. The preceding was the Meiji. As there are several eras to each century, this calendar is cumbersome and renders difficult the fixation of historical dates. It makes Japanese history appear like a series of disconnected reigns instead of a continuous series of events. Japan should adopt a permanent beginning for its calendar, as, for example, the restoration to power of the Mikado in 1867. The Western calendar, or one whose centuries would correspond to those of the Western calendar, would be still more convenient.

In many shops the abacus is still used even for the simplest computations in the convenient decimal currency. This is certainly not due to lack of arithmetical ability but to the persistence of an ancient custom.

Three sets of characters are used in Japanese writing. The *kan-ji* is a collection of signs or ideographs of Chinese origin, three or four thousands of which are in common use. The *hira-gana* is an alphabet of fifty cursive signs. The *kata-kana* is a similar alphabet of fifty angular signs. I asked some one to read a brief notice. He told me that in it were used characters from all three of these sets. While the situation is much better than in China, education, science, literature, and business would be greatly aided if the *hira-gana* or *kata-kana*, or the European alphabet, could be adopted for universal use.

In Osaka an interview was arranged for me with the president of one of the largest banks who is also the president of a large cotton manufacturing company. After we had completed our conversation at his office, he said that he would like to see me again and to have me meet some of his friends, and invited me to dinner on the evening before I was to leave the city. He inquired whether I would like a Japanese or a European meal. I replied that, while I do not necessarily prefer the Japanese style, in Japan I would like to be entertained according to the customs of the country.

IMPERIAL ENVOY LEAVING THE HONDEN OR HOLY OF HOLIES AFTER SERVICE IN HONOR OF ANCESTORS, NIKKO, JAPAN

This is the most beautiful Shinto shrine in Japan.

He called at my hotel a few minutes before the appointed hour and took me in his car to a charming restaurant overlooking the river. The other guests were the managing director of the Osaka branch of the Bank of Japan, the president of a large bank, and two or three other prominent bankers. We were seated on mats in an open square. Presently ten or a dozen women appeared and placed a small table before each guest. One course after another followed in rapid succession. All of the time these women kept up an incessant chatter which rendered a connected conversation out of the question. Finally the tables were removed, and I thought that we could now begin to converse about the economic subjects which I wished to discuss with these gentlemen. But the women appeared with musical instruments, and playing, singing, and dancing followed. When this geisha entertainment terminated, I again thought that our conversation would commence. But the women reappeared with the tables and a new succession of courses followed, accompanied with the usual chatter. When this ended, it was time to go home.

As we parted, all of the guests courteously invited me to call at their offices if I had anything which I wished to discuss with them. This was impossible, because I was leaving the following day. When I returned to my hotel, I remembered with appreciation the exquisite hospitality of our host, but thought with regret of the wasted opportunity to talk with these men, and wondered whether or not it could have been my fault. When I related this incident to a Japanese business man who had recently returned from ten years spent in the United States, he laughed and said that he found that it takes much longer to do business in Japan than in America.

Social dancing in the Occidental style is becoming popular in the large cities. But it is looked upon with grave suspicion by those who conceive themselves to be the guardians of public morality. While I was in Tokio the police issued an order that public dances are to terminate at ten o'clock.

As was pointed out by many of the newspapers, it is a mystery known only to the police why dancing is more immoral after than before that hour. But they are not necessarily more stupid than the police elsewhere. In January, 1923, the Berlin police forbade public dancing for a time as a sign of grief over the occupation of the Ruhr by the French troops. I observed that this prohibition encouraged drinking and other activities which are as harmful as dancing is beneficial.

The Japanese police have at times attempted to suppress "peek-a-boo" waists, in spite of the fact that exposure of the body is common in connection with bathing, as I have had ample opportunity to observe during the many baths which I have taken with the Japanese. In this regard the police are probably influenced in part by baneful Occidental prudery and notions as to artificial modesty. It is also due to the fact that the Japanese are even more inconsistent than most peoples in their ideas as to when exposure of the body is or is not proper.

The Japanese press is modeled largely after American journalism. But the governmental supervision of the press is much more drastic than it is in most European and American countries. The publisher of a newspaper or magazine which comments upon political questions must deposit a sum of money with the Government. The news is often censored. During a recent trial the defendant, who was accused of trying to kill the prince regent, shouted a radical sentiment in the court-room. The police hastened to forbid the papers from reporting this incident. As one of the foreign-language papers pointed out to the police, this forced the papers into the position of inordinately whetting the curiosity of their readers by reporting that an incident had taken place which they were prohibited from reporting. In using such methods the police blunder like many of their confrères in other lands.

Japan is at present afflicted with the same hysteria against bolshevism and communism which has swept over all cap-

italistic countries. Bolshevist propaganda is denounced and prohibited as if it were something unique, unmindful of the fact that capitalistic propaganda is as prevalent or more so, though not always so crude in its methods.

In March, 1925, the Diet enacted a so-called "Peace Preservation Law," the first article of which reads as follows:

ARTICLE I. Any one who has formed a society with the object of altering the national constitution (*kokutai*) or the form of government, or of negativing the system of private ownership, or any one who has joined it with full knowledge of its objects, shall be liable to imprisonment with or without hard labor for a term not exceeding ten years. Attempts to commit the crimes above specified are also punishable.

Recently in Kobe the police arrested and punished a bookseller who had sold several copies of Marx and Engels' "Communist Manifesto," in spite of the fact that this was first published in 1848 and is almost as famous as the Bible and Shakspere, even in the East. This is not unlike police methods in the West, but the paternalistic form of government accentuates it.

A striking example of this paternalism is the imperial rescript on education issued on the thirteenth day of the tenth month of the twenty-third year of Meiji (1890). Though written in the Chinese classical style and mediæval in tone, even little children are forced to learn it by heart. The instructions of the Department of Education concerning its use in the lower grade schools commence as follows:

The teaching of morals must be based on the precepts of the imperial rescript on education; its object is to foster the growth of moral ideas and sentiments, and to give the culture and character necessary for men of middle or higher standing, and to encourage and promote the practice of virtues.

The principal paragraph of the rescript reads as follows:

You, our subjects, be therefore filial to your parents; be affectionate to your brothers; be harmonious as husbands and wives; and

be faithful to your friends; conduct yourselves with propriety and carefulness; extend generosity and benevolence toward your neighbors; attend to your studies and follow your pursuits; cultivate your intellects and elevate your morals; advance public benefits and promote social interests; be always found in the good observance of the laws and constitution of the land; display your personal courage and public spirit for the sake of the country whenever required; and thus support the imperial prerogative, which is coexistent with the heavens and the earth.

Japan has shown admirable openmindedness in adopting many Western habits and customs. It has an unparalleled opportunity to combine the best in Oriental and Occidental culture. Unfortunately, it is imitating Western culture without sufficient discrimination between what is useful and what is injurious therein.

What do we mean by culture? It is often used to denote a certain degree of literary and artistic refinement. I am using it in its broad sociological and anthropological sense—namely, as embracing all that has been created by mankind, not only tools and other material goods, but also forms of social organization, art, religion, moral ideas, etc. Thus there are cultures which are primitive and low in the evolutionary scale as well as those which are highly evolved.

Every cultural system has been determined in large part by the environment in which it has evolved. But each system is also a patchwork of traits from different cultures. Cultural patterns are not rigid and are constantly influencing each other. Eastern culture has influenced the West more or less in the past, while the present influence of Western culture upon the East is a striking example of cultural penetration.

Such interpenetration is necessary for the enrichment and rejuvenation of cultural systems. A world-wide cultural resemblance arrived at through such a process is not undesirable, provided it does not discourage differentiation between individuals. Such a world-wide resemblance should be attained by means of the selection of the best cultural traits which are

intrinsically congruous. Many cultural combinations seem at first sight ridiculous, but this is usually due to artificial associations which do not necessarily indicate an inherent incongruity.

In Bombay I met a tall, handsome Hindu who wore the nationalist costume of homespun cotton goods, with sandals on his bare feet. But he spoke English with an Oxford accent and wore a monocle. A moment's reflection indicated that there was no essential incompatibility in this combination. The nationalist costume is suitable to the climate and possesses a good deal of beauty, while defective vision in one eye may render a monocle useful.

Oriental culture is to a large extent tropical in its origin, while Occidental culture has evolved almost entirely in the temperate zone. Japan extends from a subtropical to a cold climate. The Japanese style of architecture is suitable only to a warm climate and therefore does not furnish adequate protection against the elements over most of that country. This is an example of an unsuitable adaptation of culture.

In this book I shall attempt to compare and interpret certain phases of Oriental and of Occidental culture. The latter originated and has had its principal development in the Mediterranean area. It has spread over the whole of Europe and the Western Hemisphere and has been carried wherever men of European origin have established colonies. The former is represented chiefly in the Indian and Chinese cultures, which are so sharply defined and distinctive that it is hardly possible to speak of an Oriental culture.

This illustrates a fact of great importance—namely, that the East is much less unified than the West, both culturally and geographically. Just as the Himalaya range thrusts its huge bulk between India and China, so are they rigidly separated from each other culturally. The West has had its own continuous, more or less uniform, and rapid development. The East has had several coeval lines of development and in recent times has remained comparatively unchanged. The

West has had its great capitals of decisive cultural significance for the whole of the Occidental world. The East has had no Athens or Rome, no Paris, London, or New York.

As to whether the Chinese or the Indian is the most characteristic Oriental culture it would be difficult to say. Each has dominated a vast area in the Eastern world. Japan is culturally the child and disciple of China. In recent years it has leaped far ahead of its ancient tutor in its imitation of the West. As is indicated in the opening paragraphs of this chapter, it now stands at the crossways between Oriental and Occidental civilization. China has not yet reached this point, and India stands still farther behind in this regard.

Whether or not the East influenced the West more than the West influenced the East in the past, it is difficult to say. It is certain that the West is influencing the East to an extraordinary degree at present. Indeed, for the East the situation is most critical, because it may mean an extensive transformation of its culture. For the West the situation is not so critical nor of such immediate importance. But whatever happens in the East cannot fail to react in the long run upon the West. For both of these great divisions of mankind it is a problem of learning as much as possible from each other by means of a friendly and mutually profitable intercourse.

Between the Orient and the Occident lies an indeterminate zone including Asia Minor, Persia, the Arabian peninsula, Egypt, and the North African littoral. Westerners usually classify this region with the East, and Asia Minor is often called the Near East. Much of its culture arose in the Mediterranean area, and it is questionable whether it belongs to the East more than to the West. In the following chapter will be presented certain historical facts and considerations which will throw light upon this and several other problems raised in this chapter.

Chapter II

THE ANTHROPOLOGICAL AND HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

It is often alleged that Oriental is much older than Occidental culture. The principal reason for this widespread notion is the fact that within the historical period the East has remained relatively unchanged in comparison with the West. China is usually cited as possessing the oldest civilization in the world. Inasmuch as the essential features of Chinese culture took shape during the Chóu dynasty (1122-249 B.C.), and have displayed a remarkable degree of permanence and stability for more than 2500 years, it is not surprising that it appears very ancient in contrast to the rapidly changing West.[1]

Another reason for this notion is the popular hypothesis that mankind and culture originated in Asia. A necessary corollary is that the West derived its culture from the East. This hypothesis raises the problem of the place of origin of man and of the location and date of commencement of the main course of cultural evolution. The expeditions of the American Museum of Natural History and similar enterprises by other scientific institutions have focused attention upon central Asia. But the available data are still wholly inadequate to answer these questions. Indeed, so far as climate is concerned, it is doubtful if central Asia was at any time warm enough to furnish a cradle for mankind. Man apparently evolved from an anthropoid stock adapted to life only in the tropics. Not until he had acquired a certain amount of material culture in the way of tools, clothing, and fire

[1] See Friedrich Hirth, "The Ancient History of China to the End of the Chóu Dynasty," New York, 1908.

could he venture into this relatively inhospitable region. So that if he is Asiatic in origin, it must have taken place in the southern peninsulas of that great continent.

Even if man originated in Asia, this does not mean necessarily that the decisive steps in the earlier stages of cultural evolution took place there. Human groups in many parts of the world have attained a certain stage of culture, and then died out, leaving no heritage behind. It is only the advances which are preserved and transmitted permanently that count. Where and when most of the additions to culture have taken place it is not even possible to surmise.

The most complete picture of cultural evolution has been obtained for the European and Mediterranean area. This is because the science of anthropology was first developed in Europe, so that there were anthropologists at hand to recognize the significance of finds. Beginning with the Eolithic and early Paleolithic cultures of Eoanthropus and of Heidelberg man, the early and middle Paleolithic culture of Neanderthal man, the later Paleolithic of Aurignacian man, and so on down through the Neolithic to the metal ages, can be traced the prehistoric stages of cultural evolution. At several sites in the classical region of European anthropology, the Dordogne Valley in southern France, there is scarcely a break between the layers representing these cultural horizons. While inspecting the sections exposed at Laugerie Basse, Laugerie Haute, and Le Moustier, I was particularly impressed by this fact.

And yet this would not necessarily mean that all of this evolution was indigenous. Climatic changes doubtless gave rise to some of the cultural transformations, as when a late ice age produced the Magdalenian culture. But the intrusion of alien races may have brought cultural elements. Thus Aurignacian man appears with comparative suddenness after Neanderthal man. Indeed, it is possible that all of the racial types in European anthropology originated elsewhere, and migrated into the European and Mediterranean area.

For the later stages we have to turn to Asia Minor and in particular to Egypt, where lies more than anywhere else the cradle of Western civilization. Then crossing the Mediterranean by way of Crete, it reaches the historical stage and its efflorescence in the Greek and Italian peninsulas. Concerning all of these stages there is already a rich mass of data.

When we turn to Asia proper, the data become very scanty. Few anthropologists have so far devoted attention to this continent. Most of its vast area is thinly populated in comparison with Europe. Much valuable material which has been found by accident has doubtless been destroyed because no one capable of recognizing its significance was present. Within the past few years, however, a few important discoveries of prehistoric remains have been made in eastern Asia.

Until recently it was uncertain as to whether Paleolithic man has ever existed in eastern Asia. In Tientsin and Peking I learned through Messrs. V. K. Ting and W. H. Wong, directors of the Geological Survey of China, of very recent Paleolithic and Neolithic discoveries. In the museum of the Survey at Peking I was able to inspect the collections there on view.

In 1923 and 1924, two French priests, E. Licent and P. Teilhard de Chardin, engaged primarily in geological and paleontological researches, found about a dozen Paleolithic sites in the Ordos region within the great bend of the Yellow River and in the Shensi and Kansu provinces. On my way back from the Far East I met Père Teilhard in Paris and was shown his collection at the Institut de Paléontologie Humaine by Abbé Breuil, the well-known French anthropologist.

These sites were in and below the eolian loess, and were accompanied by a fauna of middle Pleistocene appearance. The implements resemble in the main Mousterian and to a certain extent Aurignacian and Magdalenian paleoliths of the European stages. Surface indications of a similar Paleolithic industry were found by the third Asiatic expedition of

the American Museum of Natural History about 700 miles away in western Mongolia. In no one of these sites was a continuous series found. In each case the culture appeared and disappeared suddenly. Moreover, no human remains were found. So that as yet nothing can be said as to the place of origin of this culture, or its relation to the Paleolithic periods in other parts of the world. But these finds prove conclusively the existence of Paleolithic man at a relatively early period in China and Mongolia.[2]

For the past few years Dr. J. G. Andersson, formerly director of the Geological Survey of Sweden and now mining adviser to the Chinese Government, has been discovering late Neolithic sites. According to his latest report, he has so far found thirty-eight stations, most of them in Honan and Kansu provinces, ranging across northern China for a distance of about 1200 miles. To this late Neolithic culture he has given the name Yang Shao from the first and most important site excavated in Honan.

The most significant phase of this culture is the polychrome pottery which characterizes it. Andersson believes that this pottery closely resembles the pottery found at Anau in Turkestan by the Pumpelly expedition.[3]

Similar pottery has been found at many sites in the Near

[2] "Tout ce que nous pouvons dire à ce sujet, pour l'instant, c'est que, étant donné la continuité des faciès et des faunes qui nous invite à synchroniser les Terres jaunes d'Asie avec le loess d'Europe (et plus particulièrement avec l'ergeron de France), l'Homme paléolithique de Chine a dû vivre approximativement en même temps que les Moustiériens ou les premiers Aurignaciens de nos pays occidentaux. A en juger par son industrie, que ne caractérise la présence d'aucun type d'outil inconnu à l'Europe, mais seulement l'association de formes lithiques (moustiériennes, aurignaciennes, magdaléniennes) que nous sommes habitués à trouver chez nous réparties sur divers niveaux, cet Homme paraît avoir appartenu à la masse fondamentale où ont dû s'alimenter plus d'une fois les vagues humaines arrivées en Europe aux temps paléolithiques." (E. Licent et P. Teilhard de Chardin, "Le paléolithique de la Chine," in "L'anthropologie," Paris, 1925, Vol. XXXV, p. 234.)

[3] R. Pumpelly, "Explorations in Turkestan, Expedition of 1904," 2 vols., Washington, 1908, Vol. I.

East, as on the eastern borders of Persia, in Babylonia prior to 3500 B.C., in Asia Minor probably about 2500-2000 B.C., at Tripolje in southwestern Russia, and in Thessaly about 2000-1200 B.C. At Anau it probably appeared considerably earlier, so that it apparently ranged in time at least from 4000 to 1500 B.C. Where this pottery originated it would be unsafe to attempt to say. Andersson thinks it appeared in China by 3000 B.C., and that the Yang Shao stage of culture lasted from 3500 to 1700 B.C. The pottery, therefore, must have traveled the long distance from Anau in Russian Turkestan across Chinese Turkestan to China.[4] As Dr. Andersson points out, it raises the question of early western influences in eastern Asia: "The old question of western influences in the early Chinese civilization is again actualized by the discovery of the Yang Shao polychrome pottery. The definite solution of this complex problem is probably still very distant, and the only possible way leads through cooperation of archæologists, anthropologists and philologists under careful sifting of the facts and unbiassed correlation of results. It is specially desirable that Chinese scholars, who alone can elucidate the question from within, will take an active interest in this research."[5]

Certain philologists have noted resemblances between the Sumerian and the Chinese scripts which have suggested a common origin, possibly in central Asia. Andersson thinks that there is a correlation if not connection between the ceramic and the linguistic origins throughout the Near and the

[4] "The distance from Honan to Anau is very great, but the two regions are connected by a highway of migrations which extends between the Tibetan highlands in the south and the Siberian taiga (forest region) in the north. These vast expanses of steppe and desert which form a nearly continuous belt from the Pacific to the Black Sea have, according to the researches of Pumpelly and Huntington, during certain periods enjoyed a climate much more genial than the present." (J. G. Andersson, "An Early Chinese Culture," Peking, 1923, pp. 35-36.)

[5] *Op. cit.*, p. 42.

Far East.[6] He sums up his conclusions as to the Neolithic period in northern China in the following words:

The striking fact that we know at present not less than 38 Aeneolithic [late Neolithic] sites in northern China, many of them large and rich, whereas not a single Early or Middle Neolithic deposit has been found, goes to prove that the aboriginal Neolithic population lived under conditions markedly different from those of the Aeneolithic settlements. As there is nothing to indicate a radical change of climate or otherwise physical environment at the beginning of the Aeneolithic time, it seems reasonable to assume that the new start marked by the abundant early Aeneolithic remains was more in the way of *introducing a new, superior culture.* Most likely the Neolithic aboriginals, Mongoloids who had already begun to mould the humble beginnings of the proto-Chinese culture, lived principally as hunters and fishermen, possibly at the same time and in suitable regions carrying on a primitive hoe culture. If this assumption is true, they very likely lived in comparatively small groups and were not permanently settled but moved from place to place as changes in the supply of game forced them to do so.[7]

Neolithic remains have been found by Teilhard and Licent in eastern Mongolia, by Torii, a Japanese archæologist, in Manchuria, and by N. C. Nelson of the American Museum of Natural History in western Mongolia, which seem to be of early or pre-Neolithic character. The latter also found late Neolithic remains in the valley of the Yang-tse-Kiang in Hupeh, Yunnan, and Szechuan provinces.

[6] "I do not feel competent to review the opinion advanced by several authors, such as Chalfant and Ball, that there is a common origin for the Chinese script and the ancient pictorial writings of the Near East, but it goes without saying that our discovery of the existence of strong cultural influences across Central Asia to the Huang Ho valley at the close of the Neolithic Age, as manifested by the Yang Shao painted ceramics, cause those philological speculations to appear less phantastic from the purely archaeological point of view." (J. G. Andersson, "Preliminary Report on Archaeological Research in Kansu," Peking, 1925, p. 30.)

"That Chinese is related to the old Sumerian language of Babylonia is a conclusion which appears inevitable, when we notice the great similarity of the two vocabularies." (C. J. Ball, "Chinese and Sumerian," Oxford, 1913.)

[7] *Op cit.*, pp. 49-50.

The significant fact about these Paleolithic and Neolithic sites is that nowhere has been discovered a continuous series throughout the Paleolithic stages, from the Paleolithic to the Neolithic, and throughout the Neolithic stages. The connection between the Neolithic and the metal ages and historical times is more apparent. Whether this means that there were actual breaks in the cultural sequence, or that evidence of the sequence has yet to be found, it is impossible to say. It is not improbable that the sequence was continuous, at any rate throughout the Neolithic period, but that influences from the west, from the south, and possibly also from the north, from time to time gave the appearance of a new start. It is even more difficult to make assertions as to the influences from the east to the west during prehistoric times.[8]

So far as we can judge from the scanty data available, the Chinese culture was partly indigenous in its origin and partly derived from elsewhere. It apparently assumed its characteristic form in the middle and lower courses of the Yellow River, and spread eastward into what are now the Chihli and Shantung provinces and southward toward the Yangtse. If linguistic relations furnish any guide, Annam, Siam, Burma, and Tibet belong to the same culture complex, because the languages of those countries belong to the same

[8] N. C. Nelson, in an excellent review of recent discoveries, discusses the gaps in the cultural sequence as follows: "If in some such way we may close the gap between the Eneolithic and Neolithic of China, it is otherwise with the hiatus separating the Neolithic and Palaeolithic. In Mongolia this lacuna is less marked than in China proper, but it is there and must for the present be left unexplained. The same is true with respect to the Early Palaeolithic. I had the best imaginable opportunities for discovering traces of this stage in western Mongolia, but found nothing, at any rate nothing corresponding in type to the Lower Palaeolithic of western Europe." ("Archaeological Research in North China," in the "American Anthropologist," April, 1927, Vol. XXIX, No. 2, pp. 199-200.)

He closes this review with the following words: "In conclusion it will be enough to state that while our recent investigations to date have furnished no evidence either for or against the biological origin of man in Asia, the evidence brought to light respecting the beginnings of culture points elsewhere." (*Op. cit.*, p. 200.)

family as the Chinese tongue. The Chinese appear never to have been pastoral, but always have been agriculturists and village and town dwellers. Such a civilization could readily develop in the fertile valleys of the Hoang-ho (Yellow River) and Yang-tse-Kiang, especially the former.

For the historical period, China has, with the exception of a few doubtful tombs, only literary evidence of the antiquity of its culture. The Chinese histories begin with the mythical Five Rulers, dating from 2852 B.C., each of whom is reputed to have reigned an incredibly long time. The first more or less authentic dynasty was the Hsia (2205-1766 B.C.), followed by the Shan or Yin dynasty (1766-1122 B.C.). Up to this time what now constitutes China consisted of several independent kingdoms and regions inhabited by unconquered savage and barbarous peoples.

During the long-lived Chóu or Chow dynasty (1122-249 B.C.) China became a federation of states ruled by feudal lords owing a loose allegiance to the emperor. Many wars took place between the different states, and the efforts to unify China have continued without entire success down to the present day. For the first two thirds of this dynasty we have the historical record compiled by Confucius (born 551 B.C.) in the Shu-king. While wars and political dissensions were rife, it was nevertheless the classical and constitutional period during which Chinese culture took its characteristic form which served as a unifying bond, and eventually spread to Japan, Korea, and other contiguous countries.

The Chóu-li (*circa* 1100 B.C.), a code compiled near the beginning of this dynasty, provided for the ministries of the government, established the different classes, prescribed the order of precedence, and in many other ways regulated Chinese life. In its essential features it was followed down to the present century. It has perhaps had more influence upon a larger number of people over a longer period of time than any other book. During this dynasty also the Chinese

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classics were edited and compiled, in part by Confucius, which have guided the footsteps of the Chinese people down to the present day.

These classics include, first, the Wu-king or "Five Canons": 1. The Yi-king, or Book of Changes, which is philosophic, containing the Eight Diagrams, and was pre-Confucian. 2. The Shu-king, or Book of History, collected and edited by Confucius. 3. The Shih-king, or Book of Odes, selected by Confucius. 4. The Li-ki, or Book of Rites, which was post-Confucian. 5. The Hsiao-king, or Book of Filial Piety. The Ch'un-ts'iu, or Spring and Autumn Annals of the State of Lu, which is usually not considered a canonical work, was written probably by Confucius with Tso Chuan's Commentary. The classics include, second, the Ssi-shu or "Four Books": 1. The Lun-yu, or Discourses or Analects of Confucius concerning filial piety. 2. The Ta-hsio, or Great Learning for adults, a short politico-ethical treatise from the Li-ki, or Book of Rites. 3. The Chung-yung, or Doctrine of the Mean, from the Book of Rites. 4. Mencius (372-289 B.C.), expounder of Confucius.

It will be noted that the four books were in part excerpts from, elaborations of, and commentaries on the five canons. These classics and the Chóu-li probably constitute the oldest classical literature extant, the only possible exception being the Vedas, which will be discussed later. Fragments only survive of the older Egyptian literature and of the literatures of the ancient civilizations of the Mesopotamian Valley.[9]

During the short-lived Tsin dynasty (249-206 B.C.) reigned the famous Emperor Shih Huang Ti, who wished to establish a new régime and therefore tried to destroy all of the classical literature. The most important event of his reign was the completion of the Great Wall by joining to-

[9] The Theban Recension of the Egyptian "Book of the Dead" is said to date from 1700-1200 B.C. (E. A. Wallis Budge, "The Gods of the Egyptians," London, 1904, Vol. I.)

gether existing walls, in order to keep out the nomad Tartars from the north. For many centuries this wall was symbolic of the long period of isolation from which China has only recently emerged. He also suppressed feudalism, which, however, was revived from time to time whenever the Central Government was unusually weak.

During the Han dynasty (206 B.C.-A.D. 251) the imperial form of government was developed and the boundaries extended as far south as the provinces of Kwangsi and Kwangtung. The Chinese, with the exception of the Cantonese, often call themselves the Sons of Han. During this dynasty China had relations with India, whence came Buddhism, Asia Minor, and the Roman Empire.

Owing to civil war, after the Han dynasty China was for a time divided into the three kingdoms of Wu in the south, Shu in the west, and Wei in the north. Then followed a long period of disunion, until China was consolidated again at the commencement of the T'ang dynasty (A.D. 618-907). During this dynasty the empire was extended southward to Annam and westward to the Caspian Sea. The latter extension brought China into renewed touch with western Asia. As a result of the assimilation of the south, the Cantonese often call themselves the Men of T'ang. It was a period of creative activity in literature and art and in invention. Printing was probably discovered during this period.

The T'ang dynasty was followed by a period of disorder known as the Five Dynasties (A.D. 907-960). Owing to the civil war, the Tartar tribes, especially the Kin tribe, overran the north. The Sung dynasty (A.D. 960-1280), unable to drive out the Kins, was forced to move its capital southward to Nanking and then to Hangchow. Later the Kins were defeated by another Tartar tribe, the Mongols.

In the year 1213 the great Mongol chieftain Jenghiz Khan (born A.D. 1162) conquered northern China. Then turning westward he invaded western Asia and Russia. His son Ogatai penetrated Europe as far westward as Hungary and Poland.

His grandson Kublai Khan completed the conquest of China and established the Yuan dynasty (A.D. 1260-1368). The Mongols also conquered Korea, Burma, and Annam, but did not succeed in conquering Japan. Their empire extended from the Black Sea to the Yellow Sea, and from northern Mongolia to the Himalayas and Indo-China.

After a century the Mongols were driven out and a Chinese dynasty, the Ming (A.D. 1368-1644), was established, first at Nanking and then at Peking. Under this dynasty the old régime was restored, the civil-service examinations were reorganized, and the Government assumed the form which it retained until the establishment of the republic. After nearly three centuries, a Tartar tribe, the Manchus, invaded China and established the Tsing dynasty (A.D. 1644-1911), which lasted until the revolution of 1911 and the Chinese Republic.

During the long period of 4000 years which have passed since more or less authentic Chinese history began to be recorded, owing mainly to its geographical position, China has been largely isolated from the rest of the world. While at no time has it been entirely cut off, yet vast distances, lofty mountain ranges, such as the Altai, the Tien-shan, and above all the Himalayas and the Tibetan plateau, and long stretches of arid desert have prevented it from maintaining frequent and close relations with the West or with India. Since the beginning of the sixteenth century, when the first Portuguese traders arrived by way of the sea, these relations have been steadily increasing, so that now China is more exposed to influence from outside than at any time in its history.

When we turn to India we are in what may have been the region of the origin of man. The recent discovery of the Siwalik fossils suggests that the primates were differentiating rapidly in that region during Miocene time, and that the anthropoid stock may have diverged from the Simian during that period. The *Pithecanthropus erectus* found in Java and

belonging to the Pliocene may have inhabited India also, because Java was at that time connected with the mainland.

Whatever may have been true as to the origin of man, in India are to be seen numerous cultural remains of prehistoric times. In the Indian Museum in Calcutta and the Madras Museum I inspected large collections of Paleolithic and Neolithic implements, and smaller collections in the Prince of Wales Museum in Bombay and elsewhere. They furnish valuable material for the study of prehistoric man in southern Asia. They have been little studied by anthropologists, so that their significance is not yet fully known.

Rough stone implements, possibly eoliths, have been reported from the upper Miocene in Burma at Yenangyaung in the valley of the Irrawaddy. Paleoliths of a pre-Chellean type have been found in the Pliocene in the valley of the Godavari River, which flows into the Bay of Bengal on the central east coast of India, and in the valley of the Narbada River, which flows into the Indian Ocean on the west coast from the Central Provinces. All of these finds were associated with extinct animals. If the geological horizons of these implements have been correctly designated, they indicate the extreme antiquity of man in southern Asia, probably greater than in Europe or in central and eastern Asia. Paleoliths of various types have been found at numerous other sites, as, for example, in Madras, in the Deccan in central India, in Rajputana in the north, and in eastern India.

Neolithic implements have been found in great abundance in almost every part of India. No continuous series from the Paleolithic to the Neolithic periods has been discovered. In fact, so far as the existing record goes, there seems to be a large interval of time between the two stone ages. This may well be due to lack of sufficient material and inadequate study of the sites already discovered. It is indeed hard to believe that India has not been continuously inhabited since the beginning.

In northern and central India the Neolithic was followed by a copper age, but little trace has been found of a bronze age. Important remains of copper have recently been discovered at two sites, Harappa in the Punjab southwest of Lahore in the old bed of the Ravi, a tributary of the Indus, and Mohen-jo-daro in Sind, south of Larkana, in the old bed of the Indus. Both of them appear to be the sites of what were once large cities.

The most significant objects found are stamp-seals, painted pottery, and copper coins. On the seals are as many as sixteen characters which resemble characters in the Sumerian syllabary dating from about 3000 B.C. These include most of the characters on these seals. In the earliest stratum at Mohen-jo-daro were found the pottery and copper coins with pictographic signs. The pottery resembles a painted pottery found at Susa in Elam, which has been assigned to the fifth millennium B.C. The earliest of the coins are unlike coins found anywhere else, but some of them bear pictographs which suggest Iranian affinities.

These remains indicate that there was a well-advanced culture in the Indus Valley at a relatively early age. The resemblance between the stone objects, brick work, funeral pottery, and pictographs discovered at Harappa and Mohen-jo-daro and Sumerian remains found in Mesopotamia has suggested either that the Indus culture was derived from Mesopotamia, or that the Sumerian culture originated in India. Inasmuch as the Sumerian bears no resemblance to the so-called "Aryan" culture which later dominated northern India, it has also been suggested that the former was Dravidian in origin, that is to say, from southern India. But phases of the Sumerian culture have been found at Susa in Persia and at Anau in Russian Turkestan, and at both of these sites the cultural series goes back continuously to Neolithic strata. So that it seems not unlikely that the Sumerian culture orig-

inated in central Asia, and reached India by way of Mesopotamia.

Another feature of Indian prehistory which suggests cultural relations with other parts of the world is furnished by the megalithic monuments. These consist largely of numerous dolmens found in most parts of India from the Narbada River to Cape Comorin. They are very numerous in the Deccan in central India. There are said to be over two thousand in the Bellary district alone. These monuments are used mainly for funerary purposes. Hence they were constructed by peoples who practised burial. During the iron age, when most of these monuments were erected, burial and cremation were practised sometimes side by side in central and southern India. Since that time the Hindu custom of cremation has prevailed. Megalithic monuments have been traced all the way from India along the north coast of Africa and the west coast of Europe to Scandinavia. They have also appeared in remote parts of the earth, such as Japan, America, and the South Seas. These facts have given rise to the hypothesis of a single megalithic race which originated this custom. It has also been suggested that it may have originated in India, possibly with the Dravidians of southern India. This is too extensive and complicated a question to decide without more data, and it is sufficient for our purpose to call attention to this cultural relation.

The historical period in India presents a serious difficulty of chronology. We have seen that Chinese chronology goes back four thousand years or more with a good deal of accuracy. Egyptian chronology goes back five thousand years or more. Even as far back as two thousand years, Indian chronology becomes very vague. This appears strange, because a relatively advanced culture doubtless existed there long before that time. It has usually been explained by the fact that the Hindus believe in nirvana or a future state of peace and bliss, when the consciousness of the individual will be obliterated so that time becomes meaningless. Hence time relations

in the present existence seem to them to be of little significance.[10]

The lack of a chronology was probably due in part to political conditions. India has at no time been united under a single strong central government. Consequently, there was no dynasty desirous of keeping a record of events in order to enhance its renown, like the dynasties of China and Egypt. Such records as were kept by local rulers were intermittent and did not give an unbroken chronology.

Other factors which interfered with the keeping of a chronology were the widespread practice of cremation, the limited use of writing, and the character of the Indian classics. Cremation destroys effectually the records of individual lives often found on funerary monuments, which have in Egypt and in many other countries furnished valuable historical data. It discourages the remembrance of the dead or soon turns these memories into myths, unless convenient methods of keeping a written record exist, which was not the case until the era of printing and of books arrived.

Long after writing was introduced, texts were handed down verbally, partly because of the lack of suitable writing materials. The palm leaf is not durable in contrast to papyrus, which made possible permanent written records in Egypt.[11] The principal texts are the Vedas or "Books of Knowledge,"

[10] This belief will be discussed in a later chapter. Spengler suggests the above-mentioned explanation in the following somewhat theological terms: "In the Indian culture we have the perfectly ahistoric soul. Its decisive expression is the Brahman Nirvana. There is no pure Indian astronomy, no calendar, and therefore no history so far as history is the track of a conscious spiritual evolution." (O. Spengler, "The Decline of the West," New York, 1926, translated from the German, p. 11.)

It is not wholly accurate to say that the Indians have no calendar. In northern India is used the Samvat calendar, dated from the legendary king Vikramaditya, said to have reigned at Ujjain. The Bikramajit year, as the Samvat calendar is called, 1986 corresponds to A.D. 1928-29. In southern India is used the Saka calendar, dated from a king, Salivahana, who reigned in that region. The Saka year 1851 corresponds to A.D. 1928-29. The Hindu year has six seasons, each divided into two months.

[11] *Cf.* T. W. Rhys Davids, "Buddhist India," London, 1903.

consisting mainly of sacred lore, and the two great epics, the Ramayana and the Mahabharata, consisting mainly of myths. All of the Indian literature is permeated with religion and largely mythological, so that there is little room for a historical record.

I have already mentioned the ancient sites at Harappa and Mohen-jo-daro in northwestern India, where cities existed perhaps as long ago as 3000 B.C. North of Harappa is the ancient site of Taxila (at Sarai Kala, near Rawal Pindi), where a city existed probably as early as 2000 B.C. As has been pointed out, the first two cities, and perhaps the third also, represented a culture which may have been derived from Mesopotamia. While it doubtless left its mark on Indian civilization, it seems to have in large part disappeared from this region, or at any rate to have become merged in the culture which became dominant.

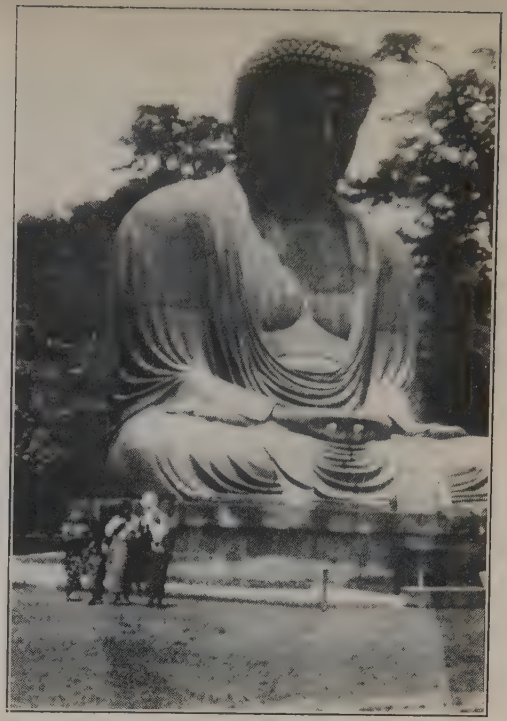
About the year 2000 B.C. there began to penetrate into India, probably from the north, the so-called "Aryan" culture. It is often assumed that it was brought into India by an "Aryan" people. This raises the much-debated "Aryan" question, which there is not the space to discuss here. Suffice it to say that there gradually developed the social system now known as Hinduism. It was probably due in part to external forces and in part to indigenous elements. At first it was dominant in the Punjab and in the valleys of the Jumna and the Ganges. Then it slowly worked its way southward. When the Manava-dharma-shastra or Manu-smriti (Code of Manu) took its present shape (between 200 B.C. and A.D. 200), Hinduism was dominant from the Himalayas to the Vindhya range in central India. Eventually it spread over the whole of the Dravidian south, though absorbing some of the Dravidian culture.[12]

In default of an orderly record, a few important events of the four thousand years or so since "Aryan" culture en-

[12] See G. Slater, "The Dravidian Element in Indian Culture," London, 1924. Dr. Slater lived in Madras from 1915 to 1922.

SACRED DEER BEFORE PAGODA, NARA, JAPAN

These deer are fed and protected and are very tame. They roam all over Nara Park and into the streets of the City like domestic animals.



BUDDHA, KAMAKURA, JAPAN

This is the most beautiful Japanese statue of Buddha.

tered India may be noted. The first thousand years and more are shrouded in darkness. During this period the Vedic literature was taking shape, probably from 1500 B.C. onward. The Ramayana and the Mahabharata were probably evolving from 500 B.C. Gautama Buddha was born about 563 B.C. Alexander the Great invaded northern India from 327 to 324 B.C., leaving several Greek garrisons behind. This invasion had considerable cultural significance in bringing Indian in contact with Western culture. Chandragupta Maurya conquered Magadha in 322 B.C., and established the Mauryan dynasty. His grandson Ashoka, who reigned from 274 to 237 B.C., embraced and propagated Buddhism with great zeal. His dominion extended from the Hindu Kush Mountains to approximately Lat. 15° N., and was one of the greatest of any Indian ruler.

Various foreign dynasties have ruled over different parts of India, such as the Indo-Greek and Indo-Parthian dynasties from 250 B.C. to A.D. 60, the Indo-Bactrian kings from 100 B.C. to A.D. 300, and the Kushan or Indo-Scythian dynasty from A.D. 45 to 225. Mohammedan invasions commenced shortly after the origin of Islam. The first Moslem dynasty began in A.D. 1206. Timur, or Tamerlane, the Mughal Tartar, sacked Delhi in 1398. The six great Mughal emperors (Baber, Humayun, Akbar, Jahangir, Shah Jehan, and Aurung-Zeb) reigned from 1526 to 1707. Various European nations began to establish colonies in the sixteenth century, the first being the Portuguese at Goa on the west coast in 1510. England extended its suzerainty over the whole of India during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

The preceding survey indicates clearly that sufficient data are not yet available to weigh with any degree of precision the relative influence upon each other of Eastern and Western culture during the prehistoric and early historical periods. Two regions stand out with peculiar prominence because of the antiquity and the continuity of the cultural series there exposed. In Egypt a relatively high culture existed more

than five thousand years ago and was preceded by a well marked Neolithic culture. There are also numerous Paleolithic sites which may or may not have been connected with the Neolithic. At Anau on the eastern border of the Iranian plateau, the cultural series goes back through agricultural and pastoral stages to the Neolithic, the lowest strata perhaps dating as far back as 9000 B.C. It has sometimes been suggested that the domestication of animals and agriculture originated in this region. There is also some evidence that agriculture originated in Egypt. It is not impossible that it developed independently in both regions.

These two regions lie to the west of the greatest natural barrier in the world—namely, the Hindu Kush, the Pamirs, the Kwenlun, the Karakoram and the Himalaya ranges forming a continuous mountainous wall, while the Tien-shan and Altai ranges extend to the northeastward. The barrier is reinforced with the aid of the deserts of eastern and southern Persia, Baluchistan, Turkestan, and Mongolia. This great barrier more or less effectually separated India and eastern Asia from the West, and India from eastern Asia.

This is why I have already asserted that the frontier between Oriental and Occidental civilization lies considerably farther to east than is usually assumed. Asia Minor, Mesopotamia, Arabia, Egypt, and Persia belong to the cultural series represented in its later stages by the Mediterranean culture. While the cultural area represented by Anau lies to the west of the great barrier, it apparently exercised a good deal of influence in both directions.

China has influenced the West very little. Its culture may have been derived in the first instance from a type of culture developed in northern or central Asia eastward of the great barrier. A peculiar feature of this culture was an aversion to milk as a food, which is still characteristic of eastern Asia, whereas it is eaten by Indo-Europeans, Semites, Scythi-

ans, Turks, etc.[13] As we have seen, it was subjected to occasional influences from the West. The Chinese culture has developed along the line of a powerful family organization based on ancestor worship, the sacredness of the family, filial devotion, and marriage enjoined upon every one as a duty to the ancestors. The resulting subjection of the individual to the family, and to a much less degree to the state, accounts in large part for the racial and national continuity of the Chinese and the tenacity of their culture. This culture has become dominant throughout the world of the yellow peoples.

The only phase of the "Aryan" culture of which we can be certain is linguistic. Indeed, this is probably the only sense in which the term has any meaning, so that it is as well to abandon the word "Aryan" entirely. Northern India is linguistically Indo-European, whereas there is no such linguistic connection between China and the West. Ethnically also it is closely related to the white race in features, hair, etc. The only outstanding difference is a darker skin color. But the culture which now dominates the whole of India was in all probability largely developed at home. Its religion permeates its culture to a degree unequaled by any other religion, and its social organization is based upon the amazing caste system, the like of which has never existed at any other time or place.

Let us say, then, that the dividing line throughout prehistoric and historical times down to the present between Oriental and Occidental culture has run, roughly speaking, northward from the Gulf of Oman along the eastern Persian frontier, and then northeastward along what are now the western frontiers of Chinese Turkestan and Mongolia. They are separated by a wide indeterminate zone where the cultures mingle, so that it is often difficult to say which is predominant. As it is impossible to decide which of these two great divisions of mankind influenced the other the most in

[13] See B. Laufer, "Some Fundamental Ideas of Chinese Culture," in the "Journal of Race Development," 1914, Vol. V, pp. 160-4.

the past, each should maintain a becoming modesty on this point. Unlike the West, the East is divided into two great cultural spheres of influence, the Chinese in eastern and the Indian in southern Asia.

Chapter III

THE RELIGIOUS EAST

I HAD just arrived in Calcutta from Rangoon and, in order to exchange money and secure my mail, was walking along Clive Street, its financial center. The banks and office buildings reminded me of Wall Street and Lombard Street, so far away. On the sidewalk in front of the Stock Exchange I saw a large white cow calmly chewing her cud. She was sublimely oblivious of the passers-by, who were stepping off the sidewalk in order not to disturb her bovine majesty. A few weeks later Mr. Gandhi announced in his weekly journal, "Young India," a prize of one thousand rupees for the best essay on cow protection in English, Sanskrit, or Hindi.

Not until one has spent some time in India can the full significance of the expression "the sacred cow" be appreciated. But India is not the only country with a "sacred cow," though it assumes different forms in other countries and at different times. The Jew retains his head-covering in the synagogue, while the Christian removes his in church. In the seventeenth century in England it was customary to smoke in church, whereas now it would be regarded as sacrilegious. Under varying forms may be discerned the universal and persistent human tendency to create fetishes and idols, ceremonial rituals and sacrosanct symbols. There are, however, differences of custom and tradition which must also be recognized.

While the sacred cow of the Hindus is a characteristic feature of their religion which seems like an obsolete superstition to all non-Hindus, Hinduism displays a wide range of belief and practice, more so probably than any other religion. The Hindus trace their religion to the Vedas (Books

of Knowledge) of which there are a hundred or more. The most important are the Rig Veda, containing 1028 psalms; the Yajur Veda, consisting of sacred formulas; the Sama Veda, containing chants; and the Atharva Veda, consisting of charms. They were followed by the Brahmanas (1000-800 B.C.), which are priestly treatises laying special emphasis on the sacrifices to the gods.

The religion of the Vedas was mostly nature worship derived from a primitive form of animism. The Rig Veda contains prayers and praises to some forty-two objects of worship, such as the sun, moon, sky, wind, rain, air, fire, dawn, earth, etc. The prayers are for long life, sons, good crops, freedom from disease, cattle, success over enemies, worldly prosperity in general, etc. Among the so-called "Aryan" gods, personifying forces of nature, which have played a part in Vedic religion, were Indra (wind and rain), Dyaus Pitar (Heaven- or Sky-Father. Compare Zeus), Prithivi Matar (Earth-Mother), Agni (fire), Mithra (sun), Soma (intoxication), etc.

The Hindus allege that theirs is the oldest religion, and often attribute an incredible antiquity to it, sometimes going back hundreds of thousands and even millions of years.[1] Professor Max Müller estimated that the Vedic literature, which during its earlier stages was transmitted mainly or entirely by word of mouth, was taking shape from 1500 to 500 B.C. It is likely that the Vedic religion was developing from about 2000 B.C. onward, first in the valley of the Indus and later in the valleys of the Jumna and the Ganges. The caste system, which constitutes an integral part of the Hindu

[1] One of the more scientific of Hindu scholars estimates on astronomical grounds that the Vedic era began about five thousand years ago: "Accordingly, allowing an interval of about 60 or 40 years between the Vedanga Jyotisha (an astronomical treatise) of the 12th century B.C. and the close of the Brahmanic literature with its 460 or 465 cyclic days, we arrive at 3101 B.C. as the commencement of the Vedic era. Strange to say, it is the same as the Kali era, now of 5,008 years." (R. Shamasastry, "Gavam Ayana, the Vedic Era," Mysore, 1908, pp. 130-1.)

religion, probably developed during the latter part of this period. As has already been indicated, the Vedic religion incorporated a considerable part of the Indo-European mythology. But in its own peculiar form Hindu religion is an indigenous product.

Two lines of development from the Vedic religion may be distinguished, the more philosophic and esoteric, and the popular. The Upanishads are philosophic treatises, prepared about 800-600 B.C., which deal with Brahma the Absolute as the only reality. Three great schools of Brahmanic thought and philosophy were founded more than twenty-five centuries ago. The Sankhya school is dualistic and materialistic, believes in no Divine Being, is therefore atheistic, and advocates action. The Vedanta school is monistic and pantheistic. The Yoga school prescribes the attainment of nirvana by means of renunciation, self-effacement, and asceticism. Its methods are used in varying degrees by most of the Hindu sects and by Buddhism as well.

Popular Hinduism is polytheistic, its pantheon containing numerous gods and goddesses, most of whom are in conjugal relations with each other, and have offspring. Early in its evolution three gods acquired the ascendancy and form the Hindu trinity. They are Brahma the Creator, Vishnu the Preserver, and Shiva the Destroyer and Reproducer. The two latter are probably derived from nature-gods. Philosophic Hinduism regards them as personal manifestations of Brahma the only reality, and interprets polytheism and its worship as symbolic of spiritual truth. Popular Hinduism has not succeeded in developing any enthusiasm for the worship of Brahma, who is too remote and impersonal to come within the ken of the common people. But Vishnu and Shiva are very human deities who are ardently worshiped in the forms of their idols and their symbols. The literature of popular Hinduism includes the Puranas or religious tales, and particularly the two great epics, the Mahabharata or "Great Bharata War," and the Ramayana or "Career of the god-hero Rama."

Vishnu typifies the universal belief in transmigration and reincarnation taught by philosophic and popular Hinduism alike. He has come down to earth nine times already and is expected a tenth time. The last three of his mundane incarnations were as Rama, the hero of the Ramayana; Krishna, whose biography is related in the Mahabharata; and Buddha. The latter incarnation resulted from a compromise with Buddhism, and helped to absorb Indian Buddhism into the Hinduism whence it had sprung. The worship of Vishnu as Rama the model man, and as Krishna the savior, is very popular throughout India.

Shiva, known also as Mahadeva, the great god, has innumerable temples dedicated to his worship, and also to his wife Parvati, who has several characters. As reproducer, he is worshiped in the form of an appropriate symbol, the lingam-yoni, or union of the external sex organs. His destructive functions are more particularly associated with his wife in one of her characters, Durga or Kali the terrible.

In addition to idolatry, there is a great deal of fetishism or the worship of natural objects. Not only the cow but to a less degree the monkey and certain other animals are treated with reverence, if not worshiped. In its most extreme form, as in the Jain religion, this zoöphilism is carried to the point of revering all animals and of refraining from killing any of them, even those dangerous to man. Belief in transmigration encourages this practice in a measure, because any animal or plant may be an ancestor, a holy person, or even a god. Places which have been inhabited by gods, saints, and other holy personages acquire sanctity thereby.

The doctrine of metempsychosis is universally accepted. But it is not wholly satisfactory, because it involves effort if the individual is to attain to higher incarnations. Consequently, we find a doctrine of salvation by faith creeping into Hinduism, just as it has into many another religion, because it promises an easy way of attaining eternal bliss. The Bhagavad-Gita, or "Song of the Adorable One," is incorporated

BATHING GHATS, BENARES, INDIA

in the Mahabharata, but was probably composed after the beginning of the Christian era, rather late in the development of Hinduism. It is ostensibly a treatise on Yoga, and expresses many of the characteristic Hindu beliefs. It manifests fear of the mingling of castes, and asserts the indestructibility of the soul as a part of the World Soul. It stigmatizes conscious existence as an evil and proclaims the extinction of individual consciousness as desirable. It derogates work as evil, and characterizes absorption in the Supreme Being and emancipation from rebirths as the highest good. This may be attained by knowledge, which is subjugation of the senses. The Yoga system is one method of attaining this end. But in the eighteenth or last discourse faith in the Lord Krishna is exalted as the best method. Thus speaks the Lord to his faithful disciple Arjuna: "Abandoning all duties come unto Me alone for shelter; sorrow not, I will liberate thee from all sins."

Late one evening I came to a village on the banks of the Ganges. An open space beside the dark flowing water was lighted by the flare of numerous torches. Many men, women, and children pushed their way hither and thither before the open booths. Near-by was the omnipresent temple. It was a festival in honor of the Lord Krishna. On a large wooden structure were suspended many images of the god, representing his early undignified adventures with the gopis or milkmaids and his later exploits as leader and king. Here was a human, an all-too-human, god whom the simplest folk could understand, love, and trust.

As I wander through my memories of India, many religious scenes come to my mind's eye. The evening prayers accompanied by weird music heard from many a household while strolling through towns and cities in Bengal and Hyderabad, in the Northern Provinces, and Madras. The bathing ghats at Benares, with hundreds of thousands of pilgrims annually from all parts of the country, washing themselves in the dirty waters of the Ganges in order to attain spiritual purification. The pilgrims streaming into the Golden Temple,

while the disgustingly obese chief priest sits in an upper room gorging himself on their contributions. The burning grounds in all villages, towns, and cities where at night as well as by day human corpses are reduced to ashes on funeral pyres. The disheveled fakirs, their naked bodies daubed with ashes, one of them lying on a bed of nails in front of the Indian Museum in Calcutta. These and many other features of the Indian scene indicate the extent to which religion dominates its life—more so indeed than in any other country.

The contrast between popular and philosophic Hinduism is in some respects very great. Indian religious thought ranges all the way from the different forms of theism through monism and pantheism to skepticism, materialism, and atheism. Though the three latter cannot be regarded as religion, Hinduism displays a remarkable degree of catholicity in tolerating them. Their ablest representatives often assert that all religions can be incorporated in their own, as contrasted with the mutually exclusive religions of the West.

And yet in other respects popular and philosophic Hinduism approach very close to each other. Early one morning in Benares I called by appointment at the home of one of the most learned of Hindu pundits. He had just returned from his daily bath in the Ganges. In the course of our conversation he cited Hegel, Fichte, Bergson, and Einstein as well as Indian thinkers. But he also alleged that the spiritual emanations from the many saints who have visited and lived in Benares had permanently sanctified the ground on which the city is built.

In Calcutta a close friend, who was showing me through his house, opened the door of a room where he said his *guru* (spiritual guide) had lived and died, and which is now the household shrine. As I was about to step over the threshold, he seized my arm and drew me back. It was too holy a place for such as I. Like myself he was trained in Western science. But religion had secured the upper hand, and he has deserted his scientific career to become an ardent Vedantist.

Another great religion originated in India and has spread over a large part of Asia, though it has for many centuries had little influence in the land of its origin. The Brahman or priestly caste early gained a prestige and ascendancy which it has retained to the present day. Some twenty-five centuries or so ago there took place a struggle between the Rajputs of northern India, who belong to the warrior or Kshatriya caste, and the Brahmans, whose domination they resented. About the year 563 B.C. was born a Rajput prince, Siddhartha Gautama, the son of Suddhodana, ruler of the Sakya clan, who later became known as Buddha (the Enlightened) or Sakyamuni (sage of the Sakyas). The accounts of his life in the Buddhist sacred literature are mostly legendary. But it appears that early in his career he became disgusted with the arrogance of the Brahmans, shocked at the injustice of the caste system, and appalled at the poverty and degradation of the lower castes. Accordingly, he renounced his princely rank, left his family, and devoted a long life (which ended about 483 B.C.) to meditation and teaching.

To what extent Buddha himself created the Buddhistic system of thought and of practice it is difficult to say. Back of it lies the Sankhya philosophy of materialism and atheism alluded to above, while the rivalry of the Rajputs and the Brahmans doubtless had its influence. The original Buddhism rejected belief in god and in the soul. With respect to the solution of the ultimate problems of philosophy, Buddha is reputed to have been as skeptical as the modern scientist. At its inception, therefore, Buddhism was not a religion, because it did not contain animistic beliefs in the supernatural which are essential in order to constitute a religion. It was a movement of reform against the social evils which then existed, and a system of ethical teaching.

As might be expected of a non-religious system, primitive Buddhism laid emphasis upon conduct in this life. Buddha taught the middle course between indulgence and asceticism, and outlined the eightfold path of right belief, resolve, speech,

action, livelihood, effort, thought, and meditation. At the same time it incorporated the characteristic Indian belief in nirvana, or a state of bliss in which all desire has disappeared so that perfection is attained.

For the first two or three centuries Buddhism made little headway. Then Ashoka, the third Mauryan King of Magadha, who reigned over a large part of India from 274 to 237 B.C., became an ardent convert. By means of edicts embodying the moral principles of Buddhism, by collecting the sacred books, aiding the monasteries, building stupas, and in other ways he spread it over his country. By means of missionaries, he propagated it in other countries. Partly as a result of the impetus given by him, Buddhism became the predominant religion from the third century B.C. to the fourth century A.D. But the popular Hindu religion had not died out during this period, and it was manifestly to the interest of the Brahmans to revive it. Gradually it won its way back, so that at the end of a thousand years or so Buddhism had disappeared almost entirely from India.[2]

Hardly had Buddha passed away before his followers began to exalt him, first as the perfect man, then as a god. Thus the erstwhile Prince Gautama and humanitarian sage, contemptuous of gods and supernaturalism, became the Supreme Being. Then there arose a belief in recurrent incarnations of Buddha as Bodhisattvas (living buddhas), who intercede with him in behalf of men. About the second or third

[2] The eminent student of Buddhism, T. W. Rhys Davids, has stated in the following eloquent words the traits inherent in early Buddhism which were partly responsible for its failure: "We ought not, in fact, to be surprised that a theory which placed the ideal in self-conquest; regarded final salvation as obtainable in this world only, and only by self-culture; a view of life that ignored the 'soul,' and brought the very gods under the domain of law; a religion which aimed its keenest shafts against just those forms of belief in the supernatural that appeal most strongly alike to the hopes and the fears of the people; a philosophy based on experience, confining itself to going back, step by step, from effect to cause, and pouring scorn on speculations as to the ultimate origin, or end of things—we ought not to be surprised that such a system tumbled and fell." ("Great Religions of the World," New York, 1901. Written by several authors.)

century A.D. in northern India these beliefs assumed the form of Mahayana (greater vehicle) Buddhism, with numerous temples and monasteries, an elaborate ritual, and incorporating many gods and demons in addition to Buddha and his incarnations. This form of Buddhism, so different from the original, eventually spread to Tibet, China, and Japan. In Tibet it developed into a highly ritualistic cult with a complicated hierarchy of spiritual potentates known as Lamaism, which is widespread also in Mongolia, to a less extent in Manchuria, and to a small extent in northern China. In recent years Mahayana Buddhism has been most alive in Japan, where it is developing along its own lines.

The earlier or Hinayana (lesser vehicle) Buddhism has persisted in name in Ceylon, Burma, and Siam. But the animistic beliefs and magical practices which characterize it in these countries bear little resemblance to the lofty conceptions of its founder. Inclosed in a box in the Temple of the Tooth at Kandy, Ceylon, is a discolored piece of ivory two inches in length and about one inch in diameter resembling the tooth of a crocodile. I have stood before this temple when thousands of pilgrims gathered in front awaiting admission in the order prescribed by the watchful British officials. It was the occasion of one of the periodical exhibitions of the box (not of the tooth itself), which the faithful devoutly believe, as they file past, contains a tooth taken from the mouth of Buddha. In Burma I have climbed barefoot up the long flights of stone steps to the lofty pagodas in Rangoon, Pegu, and Moulmein. In front of the numerous altars at the foot of each pagoda I have watched the worshipers muttering their prayers and dedicating their gifts of candles, flowers, and food.

A Chinese funeral is symbolic of the religious situation in China. First come ill-clad men and boys carrying banners, followed by the band. Then come the priests, Taoist, Buddhist, Lamaist, and if there were Confucian priests, they would be there too. The bier and the mourners follow. If the deceased

is the father of the family, perhaps the eldest son will be walking barefoot behind the bier, clad in white rags and supported on either side by friends.

The canny Chinaman summons the official representatives of all the cults, for is it not safest to propitiate all of the gods which are said to exist in behalf of the departed relative whose spirit is now wandering in the other world? To the Westerner accustomed to monotheistic religions which are bitterly opposed to each other, and which often persecute each other's adherents, it is a strange sight. Is it an indication of religious decadence or of a remarkable degree of tolerance?

In eastern Asia as elsewhere religions doubtless arose out of a primitive animism which personified the spirits of the forces of nature. These spirits still play an important part in popular religion. Probably owing to the central position occupied by the clan and the family in Chinese social organization, the worship of the dead early became the chief feature of the religion of China. The Confucian literature gave the classical expression of this worship. In other respects it is not a religious literature. The Li-ki, or Book of Rites, describes this worship, and the Hsiao-king and Lun-yu, or Analects of Confucius, are discourses on filial piety. Thus the cult of the ancestors became the principal organized religion. What corresponded to atheism was refusal to worship one's ancestors. In so far as religion served as a means of social cohesion, it was filial piety which bound together the clan and the family, and to a less degree the nation.

Confucianism is, therefore, mainly a domestic religion. Whenever an individual dies, a wooden tablet bearing his or her name and title is put up in the home or in the temple of the clan or greater-family. From time to time offerings are made to the deceased ancestors. There is little opportunity for personal religion, because the family or clan and not the individual is the unit, and prayer is little used. Modeled after the domestic, there developed an official religion. The emperor was the Son of Heaven, and at stated intervals made

offerings to heaven and also to the earth. With the establishment of the republic, the official religion has disappeared. But ancestor worship is still the most widespread form of religion in China.

Shortly before Confucius (born 551 B.C.) came Lao-tze (born *circa* 604 B.C.), a philosopher concerning whom little is known. He taught a mystical doctrine contained in the Tao-teh-king. This book is attributed to him, but probably contains only a few of his sayings and consists largely of meaningless padding. His doctrine is suggested in the following excerpts: "The self-controlled man makes it his business to dwell in the Inner Life; he teaches, not by words, but by actions." "Many men have superfluous possessions. I have nothing that I value; I desire that my heart be completely subdued, emptied to emptiness." "Tao gives Life to all beings. Teh nourishes them. It gives to each being its form. It gives the inward urge towards perfectness." [3]

The Taoist religion, which is traced back to Lao-tze, contains little of his teachings. It has incorporated many of the popular beliefs with respect to good and bad spirits which are supposed to influence the life and well-being of mankind, and is mainly a system of magic to coerce these spirits. The Taoist priest is a prayer-monger and diviner for rain. He practises geomancy and necromancy, and seeks to protect against evil spirits and illness by magical means. The Taoist cult searches for immortality and is the spiritualism and witchcraft of China. Thus the popular Taoism is on a much lower intellectual level than Confucianism, which includes many ethical and social teachings. Whether Taoism as a personal religion of mysticism still survives and is practised by a few, it is difficult to ascertain.

The missionary zeal of Buddhism reached China at an early date. It is said that in 217 B.C. eighteen missionaries arrived. About the year A.D. 65 there returned with Buddhist

[3] These excerpts are taken from Chapters II, XX, and LI of the translation by Isabella Mears, Theosophical Publishing House, London, 1922.

missionaries a delegation of Chinese who had been sent to India by the emperor to investigate this religion. In A.D. 399-414 Fa-hien went to India for the same purpose. Bodhidharma, one of the living buddhas, came to China in A.D. 520. Huien-tsiang (Yuan Chwang) went on his journey to India, of which he wrote a detailed account, in A.D. 629-45, and I-tsing in 671-95.

Through such contacts Buddhism, in its later Mahayana form, became permanently established in China, though it experienced at times persecutions and attempts to expel it. Mahayanism had certain advantages which aided it in gaining a foothold. While belief in a chief god—namely, Shang-ti the Over-Ruler—already existed, the Lord Buddha furnished a more human and attractive personality to worship. The Bodhisattvas, who deny themselves nirvana in order to save mankind, offered an easy way of attaining salvation. The living buddha Amitabha is especially loved and revered, also an Indian goddess (Avalokiteshvara), who became the goddess of mercy and pity in the Mahayanist pantheon and is known in China as Kuan-yin. This religion taught an unusually attractive doctrine of a paradise in the west to which the saved will go for an eternity of bliss. Prayer and invocation are much used, and furnish a ready means always at hand of trying to influence the divine beings who decide the destinies of men. Last, but perhaps not least, a numerous clergy of priests and monks were at hand to propagate this religion. All put together, Mahayanism furnishes a more personal religion than either of the other two.

China presents the extraordinary spectacle of three religions standing side by side, all of which may be professed by the same people at the same time. In the Hall of the Three Religions the images of Confucius, Lao-tze, and Buddha stand on the same platform, but the Indian sage who attained godhood occupies the place of honor in the center. In the temple of all the gods are to be found the images not only of the gods of the three great religions, but also local gods, nature

FUNERAL PROCESSION, MUSICIANS IN FOREGROUND

FUNERAL PROCESSION, THE COFFIN, BANNERS AND A PRIEST

PEKING

gods, family gods, and any other gods whose renown has reached the community, so catholic is the Chinese sentiment in matters of religion. Confucius himself was raised to the highest divine rank by the Imperial Government only as late as 1906, probably in order to make him equal to Jesus Christ.

Confucianism, in the form of ancestor worship, ranked highest officially under the empire, and probably does still among the upper classes. Taoism is often resorted to by the common people for aid in meeting the problems of daily life. It is said that Mahayanism appeals more strongly to the women than to the men.[4] The two latter have become chiefly forms of ritual. In practice the three religions are much mingled. Chinese religion is largely a belief in good and evil spirits which must be exorcised or propitiated by magical or by religious means. The general result from this situation is that there is a high degree of tolerance in religious matters, and that a large part of Chinese life is secularized because no one religion has succeeded in dominating it completely.

The day after my arrival in Tokio I addressed the national association of social workers on "The Modern Humanitarian Movement," in the largest Buddhist temple, the Zojoji. This meeting was followed by a memorial service for the deceased members of the association. Priests in gorgeous vestments appeared and genuflected before the high altar on which burned candles. The odor of incense spread through the temple, and from time to time a bell sounded. To my Western eyes it strongly resembled a Roman Catholic ceremony.

Some weeks later I was staying in one of the numerous monasteries at Koyasan (Mount Koya), the principal Buddhist sanctuary in Japan. At my request, I was summoned at dawn to the daily morning service. In the cold gray light I squatted on the floor of the chapel and gazed upon the altar and candles. For about half an hour the monks muttered

[4] See, for example, W. E. Soothill, "The Three Religions of China," London, 1913.

their Sanskrit prayers, punctuated by the hissing intake of breath characteristic of the Japanese.

While visiting many Buddhist temples throughout Japan, several times I saw a group of women (the men were conspicuous by their absence) being addressed by a priest, who was apparently imparting religious and moral instruction. The image of Amidha Buddha (known in China as Amitabha) appears often, and there are a number of temples dedicated to the goddess Kwannon (known in China as Kuan-yin).

These incidents illustrate various phases of the religious situation in Japan. Mahayana Buddhism was introduced from Korea in A.D. 552. Up to that time writing was little used, and Japan had only in part imbibed the civilization of China. Along with the religion came a good deal of this civilization. Mahayanism rapidly superseded the earlier Shinto religion, because it was better organized, carried along with it an ethical code which met some of the needs of the people, advocated the contemplative life which appealed to a certain number, and had a highly developed art.

In course of time several sects were introduced from China, and new ones developed at home, so that sectarianism is now almost as prevalent in Japanese Buddhism as it is in Christianity. According to the Department of Education, in 1919 there were 71,626 temples and 52,894 priests. Most of the temples belonged to the six leading sects, of which the Shin sect had nearly twenty thousand temples and the Nichiren sect about five thousand. In Kyoto, Koyasan, and elsewhere I talked with representatives of several of the sects, and found that their theological differences resemble in some respects the differences between the Christian sects, though in no case so great as the schism between Protestant and Catholic Christianity.

Ritualism has characterized Mahayanism for many centuries. While prominent in Japan, it has not become as formalistic and sterile as in Lamaism. It has retained the character-

istics of a personal religion. During the last few decades it has been greatly influenced by Western humanitarian ideas, and is now engaged in many works of amelioration and of social reform. On the whole, it resembles the highly organized Western church more than any other Eastern religion, having congregational worship and singing, schools for religious instruction, a young men's association, and women's societies. It has imbibed something of the same "punch" which Japan has borrowed from the West in many phases of its recent life.

Another Japanese religion has been revived or has been given a new strange form in recent years. This is Kami-no Michi, or "The Way of the Gods," translated into Chinese as Shin-tao and usually called Shinto. At Yamada in the Ise peninsula I stood in a somber grove of cryptomeria trees beside the holiest Shinto shrine. It is an austerely simple wooden structure with a white screen at the entrance, beyond which nothing can be seen. A large class of school-boys marched up under the guidance of their teachers and bowed low before the screen. Then came a similar class of school-girls. At frequent intervals arrived groups of adults or single individuals. From a neighboring squadron of warships came a large company of sailors, parading under the command of their officers, to make their obeisances before the sacred shrine. What did it all mean?

The Japanese race came largely from northern Asia by way of Korea in successive immigrations, with occasional Malay infusions from the south. Sun worship was an important feature of Tartar religion. The worship of the sun goddess and of the goddess of agriculture or food goddess, joined with more primitive forms of nature worship, became the early religion of Japan, known as Shinto, the way of the gods. As already indicated, Buddhism displaced it to a large extent, and some attempts were made to combine the two. But the belief still persisted that the mikado was descended from Amaterasu Omikami, the sun goddess, in a di-

rect line, and that the Japanese people is in some way related to her. The constitution, promulgated in 1889, states that the imperial line is "unbroken for ages eternal," and that "the emperor is sacred and inviolable."

When the restoration took place in 1867, an almost religious worship of the mikado commenced, though the earlier mikados had not been deified. In the outburst of nationalism which followed, the Japanese Government saw fit to revive and foster the old religion as a means of intensifying this nationalism. Numerous shrines were constructed and put under the charge of the Department of Home Affairs. In 1920 there were 115,509 shrines, many of them very small, and about 15,000 priests. The mikado is the chief Shinto priest. Shinto rites are used at state ceremonies.[5] The right of officiating at funerals and at marriages was given to the priests, though formerly marriage had been a civil contract. In addition to and in a measure apart from the official religion, there are several Shinto sects with their own priests which carry on propaganda for the ancient religion, and preach reverence for the deities and obedience to the precepts handed down by the "divine" ancestors.

What comparisons and contrasts can we discern between the religious situation in the East and in the West? In the so-called Near East, which belongs to the Western cultural sphere more than to the Eastern, originated two great Semitic religions, Christianity and Islam. The one dominates the West. The other dominates the borderland between the West and the East, with encroachments upon the former and incursions into the latter. Both are belligerently monotheistic, and therefore intolerant of strange gods. Both are based upon sacred

[5] Professor Chamberlain, who taught for many years in Japan, asserts that mikado and Japan worship was invented since 1888, and was grafted on to Shinto, a primitive nature cult, while the common people clung to Buddhism. He asserts also that the moral ideals, especially loyalty and filial piety, now attributed to imperial ancestors, were derived from the Chinese sages during the period when Chinese culture was influencing Japan greatly. Shinto has no sacred book, but he thinks that important imperial rescripts may eventually form one. (B. H. Chamberlain, "The Invention of a New Religion," London, 1918.)

books which profess to contain the revelations of God to mankind, and therefore to be infallible. Both are animated by a missionary zeal to convert mankind to the only "true" god and religion. Consequently, both are intolerant to a degree which has resulted in an untold number of persecutions, religious wars, and the like. Indeed, this spirit of intolerance goes so far as often to result in conflicts between the different sects of the same religion. This is particularly true of Christianity, because sectarianism is most rife in that religion, and the gulf between Catholic and Protestant Christianity is extraordinarily great.

We have seen that in China it is possible to profess at least three religions at the same time, and in Japan two. Throughout the East monotheism is the exception rather than the rule. Polytheism is usually conducive to a certain degree of receptiveness toward strange gods, for—who can tell?—the gods of the foreigners may not be wholly devoid of power, and therefore worthy of propitiation. Among its more intelligent adherents, there is a tendency to regard Hinduism as a synthesis of religions, and therefore to welcome strange and new religions to a place in the synthesis. On the other hand, the orthodox Hindus regard Hinduism as acquired only by birth, so that their attitude toward other religions is one of indifference rather than either of acceptance or of rejection. While religious fanaticism and bigotry are widespread in the East, especially in India, which is intoxicated with religion, the factors cited discourage an aggressive intolerance toward other religions, except when they interfere with their own practices, as through missionary endeavor or through conquest. Even Mahayana Buddhism, the only missionary religion of the East, probably because its Supreme Being was derived from the humanitarian Indian sage, is gentler and less aggressive in its missionary enterprises than the religions whose Supreme Being was derived from a ferocious Semitic tribal deity. But in the East, as in the West, every religion is intolerant of all others in the sense that it is contemptuous of

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them. And it is inevitable that it should be so, because each religion professes to teach the absolute truth, than which there can be no other.

Religion is much more institutionalized in the West than in the East. The extreme form is Roman Catholicism with its elaborate hierarchy ranging from the Pope and his College of Cardinals down to the lower clergy. Protestant Christianity also is highly institutionalized, though not always hierarchically, each church being a distinct entity, often politically and legally recognized. Furthermore, there is almost invariably a professional priesthood under whatever name (priest, deacon, pastor, parson, minister, preacher, etc.). Services are held at stated intervals before congregations which attend regularly. The church thus becomes a social gathering-place. The priesthood exhorts and preaches. Individuals are admitted to membership by means of prescribed ceremonies (baptism, confirmation, etc.).

Islam also is somewhat institutionalized, though less than Christianity. The larger part of the Mohammedan world looks up to the calif as its spiritual head. Since the overthrow of the Turkish sultanate, the califate is in a state of confusion. This is probably temporary, for the Moslems, even in distant countries like India, are anxious to establish a new califate. There is a professional priesthood, though not so well defined as in Christianity. There are regular times for prayer observed by Mohammedans the world over. There are services in the mosques at stated intervals often attended by large congregations, and sometimes including exhortations by mullahs. But Islam adjusts itself readily to local conditions, much more so than Christianity, when it is propagated among so-called "backward" peoples. Then only a profession of belief in Allah and in Mohammed his prophet may be required, and Islam as an institution does not exist at all. For example, most of the Javanese profess Islam. And yet in Java I saw no mosque or mullah, though many wear the cap which indicates that they have made the *hadj* (pilgrim-

age) to Mecca in order to acquire merit thereby. Because Islam is little exacting, many of their Malay and African converts probably retain most of their primitive animistic beliefs.

In the East the fane is a shrine rather than a church. To it come the devotees at any and all times, when it is convenient and when they are in need, to genuflect and to pull a rope which rings a bell, to light a candle and to leave offerings, to utter a prayer or to mutter an incantation. Ceremonies are held at times, but usually not at frequent and stated intervals. The hebdomadal sacred day of Semitic origin, which encourages regular ceremonies, does not exist, except to the slight extent that it has been introduced from the West.[6] Aside from unimportant cases like Tibetan Buddhism, no Eastern religion has an elaborate hierarchy. Confucianism has no priesthood. The Taoist priests are in the main magicians. The Brahmans wield a powerful influence and have an enormous prestige. But they form a caste in the social organization, and, in theory at least, perform important social functions. The Mahayanist priesthood and monkhood are perhaps most similar to the Western clergy.

Though Eastern religion is not so highly institutionalized, the shrine is nevertheless an important social center. Markets and places of amusement gather around it, so that it becomes a center both for trade and for recreation. At the Kwannon Temple in Asakusa Park, Tokio, I strolled past many a booth offering its wares for sale. A joyous crowd was carrying around a portable shrine of the goddess. On an elevated platform near-by a sacred dance was being performed. In Colombo I wandered into the precincts of a Buddhist temple where a festival was going on. Several persons gleefully showed me all parts of the temple, and described the forms of amusement which were entertaining the crowd. One evening in Bombay I peeped into a temple where sat a large congregation of men and women repeating something in

[6] See, for example, Hutton Webster, "Rest Days," New York, 1916.

unison. Perhaps it was "Om," the name of the eternal and omnipresent spirit. Or it may have been the expression "Om tat sat, Om," which is a threefold designation of the Eternal.

This brief comparison is not concerned with the question as to whether any particular religion, or religion in general, is true or untrue, right or wrong. Such questions are irrelevant for the purposes of this book. Moreover, the comparisons and contrasts suggested are relative and not absolute. For example, I have said that Western religion is monotheistic. And yet Christianity, for all its boasted monotheism, has an inexplicable doctrine of a divine trinity in which, by means of a mysterious mathematics, three are one and one god becomes three. The Christian God has a son who himself ranks high as a deity. The angels and demons derived from Zoroastrianism and Judaism, especially Satan the archdevil, form a host of minor deities, while human beings themselves with their immortal souls are godlike in comparison with the poor dumb beasts. Islam also has its complement of angels and good and bad jinns or genii midway between men and angels, while Mohammed and some of the saints (*e.g.*, Ali and his sons Hassan and Husein, all of whom were martyrs) waver on the brink of godhood. In fact, no religion ever has been entirely monotheistic, and no religion can become so, because when it reaches that stage it passes over into a form of monism which is a philosophy rather than a religion.

Throughout such a comparison arise many likenesses and points of contact. Prayer is used in the East as in the West in an endeavor to secure the many things which mankind craves. Heaven in some form usually exists to reward the faithful, and sometimes a hell for the unfaithful. Jesus, Krishna, and Amidha Buddha alike intercede with the chief god, whatever his name may be, to save men from the evil consequences of their conduct. It is often asserted that these likenesses are due to imitation, that Jesus was derived from Krishna, and that Buddhism became a religion of salvation

by mediation through intercourse with Christianity in the region of northwestern India, Kashmir, and Afghanistan. Even though a certain amount of borrowing may have taken place, these likenesses indicate fundamental similarities of human nature.

Whether the East or the West is the more religious is a complicated question. India is the most religious country in the world.[7] Mysticism is prevalent in the East. Astrology, geomancy, necromancy, and other forms of magical belief and practice, which are closely allied and mingled with religion, are widespread in the East, whereas science has checked them to a large extent in the West. Science has also secularized many phases of Western life. All of these facts suggest that the East is more religious than the West. They raise various psychological questions as to habits of thinking and ways of acquiring knowledge which will be discussed in the two following chapters.

[7] An Indian writer, domiciled in the United States, remarks that the Indians have not religion, but that religion has them. (D. G. Mukerji, "My Brother's Face," New York, 1924.)

Chapter IV

INDIAN QUIETISM AND OCCIDENTAL ACTIVISM

In Benares, the holy city of Brahmanism, I sat in a quiet, restful garden with a tall, stately pundit. He told me that he had just returned from presiding over a convention to nominate candidates for the municipal council. I had come to talk with him about Hindu religion and philosophy. Here was a man who not only represented Oriental thought but also took an active part in its public affairs.

With the calm assurance of a Brahman and in a smoothly flowing and eloquent diction, he expounded the theory that there is in the universe a perpetual alternation between change and changelessness. The West, said he, represents change, the East, changelessness. The West translates its belief in change into terms of evolution, and of progress toward a goal. Consequently, it is living for some end. But, he asked, what is that end? The East believes in an endless periodicity and rhythm and therefore makes life an end in itself.

The following day I visited the great Hindu university which is rising near the banks of the Ganges on an extensive tract of land. I was shown the plans for its buildings, which provide for a temple at its center. In the home of its principal I talked with him about Oriental ideas and ideals. India, said he, must study and utilize Western science, but at the same time it must retain its religious outlook.

In another work I have said that "all knowledge is subjective because it comes to us through our senses in the form of sensations, and we cannot be absolutely certain that these

sensations represent to us truly the nature of the world which is exterior to us. For scientific purposes, however, we need to practise what is sometimes called 'naïve realism' and assume that things in the exterior world are actually as our senses represent them to be." [1] By exploring the universe within our reach, by comparing our own sensations at different times and places and with the sensations of others, by observing the behavior of our fellow-creatures, by undertaking experiments to ascertain how things take place—by these and various other methods we arrive at knowledge which is objective, because tests have been applied to it other than those of our own senses at any one time or place. The sum of this knowledge constitutes science.

The Western world has by such means acquired in considerable measure the scientific point of view and attitude of mind. In the East, on the contrary, knowledge is still largely subjective in its origin, because impressions received through the senses are not submitted to these external tests. Many believe that they have attained absolute knowledge by means of contemplation, meditation, or physical exercises. These methods are most fully exemplified in the yoga systems of reaching union, equilibrium, or harmony with the divine will or world soul. The Bhagavad-Gita, or Hindu "New Testament," which is very eclectic, in its eighteen sections discusses seventeen of these systems, including yoga by the Sankhya philosophy of evolution, yoga of action, of wisdom, of the renunciation of action, of self-subdual, of discriminative knowledge, of the vision of the universal form, of devotion, etc., not all of which are consistent with each other.

Yoga methods have been advocated by all systems of Indian philosophy, and used by every Indian religion. Buddhism has carried them into other parts of Asia, and rumors of them have even reached Europe and America through yellow-robed swamis and Western devotees returned from

[1] "The Science of Human Behavior," New York, 1913, p. 4.

the Orient. Yoga is supposed to illustrate an interest in the absolute which is universal in the East as contrasted with the West. As we shall see, this contrast exists only in part.[2]

A description of some of the yoga methods, both physical and mental, will indicate what sort of knowledge is supposed to be acquired. An erect sitting posture is assumed with head, neck, and chest in a straight line. Breathing exercises are used, as inhaling through one nostril and exhaling out of the other, and then alternating. Thus "purity of nerves" is said to be attained. A bodily rhythm is developed, and, through the respiratory center, control of other centers is acquired. Muscular control plays an important part in yoga. It is alleged that adepts gain control of almost every muscle, and that some of them can control the lungs to such a degree that they can be buried for months and yet live without breathing. An abstemious diet is recommended, as, for example, of milk and cereals.

The mental exercises commence with a state of revery in which the mind is allowed to run on without restraint. At first many thoughts will pass through. They will gradually decrease in number, so that eventually, perhaps after months of practice, they become very few. Then concentration is begun. The effort is made to feel certain parts of the body to the exclusion of other parts. The eyes are focused

[2] A Japanese writer on art expresses this partial truth somewhat fancifully when he refers to "that broad expanse of love for the Ultimate and Universal which is the common thought-inheritance of every Asiatic race, enabling them to produce all the great religions of the world, and distinguishing them from those maritime peoples of the Mediterranean and Baltic, who love to dwell on the Particular, and to search out the means, not the end, of life." (Kakasu Okakura, "The Ideals of the East: with special reference to the art of Japan," London, 1903, p. 1.)

A sentimental French Roman Catholic expresses it as follows: "The great spell of Asia consists in the fact that no Asiatic pursues a small empty existence of his own entirely cut off from the Infinite." (A. Bonnard, "In China, 1920-1921," London, 1926, translated from the French.)

It is unfortunately true of both Eastern and Western writers that they often make wild and inaccurate generalizations when trying to compare Eastern with Western thought.

on the tip of the nose, or the attention is fixed on the "lotus" of the heart or on the center of the head. It is alleged that by such concentration the intellect and reason are eventually surpassed and a higher plane of super-consciousness is attained. On this plane, facts are learned which cannot be acquired through instinct and reason.

Whenever possible, these exercises are performed in a place with "holy" associations and atmosphere. "Unholy" persons are not admitted to pollute it. A species of mental telepathy is used. "Holy" thoughts are sent in all directions, as, for example, by repeating, "Let all beings be peaceful; let all beings be blissful." These projected thoughts are supposed to benefit not only the sender but also those who are said to receive them.

The physical consequences from these practices are described in the second chapter of the Svetasvatara Upanishad as follows: "The first signs of entering yoga are lightness of body, health, thirstlessness of mind, clearness of complexion, a beautiful voice, an agreeable odor in the body and scantiness of excretions." In the third book of the Sankhya philosophy, it is alleged that "by intensity of meditation, all things come to the pure-minded yogi." A modern Vedantist practitioner and preacher avers that the adept, or yogi, acquires infinite and transcendental knowledge. "No more, then, will they need to go to books for knowledge; for their own minds will have become filled with infinite knowledge. . . . The knowledge that comes to such a mind is real metaphysical knowledge and is beyond all physical knowledge. Metaphysical or transcendental knowledge thus comes to man." [3]

The yoga systems, though conflicting to a certain extent as to method, are all based on the notion of a cosmic intelligence or consciousness, which can be tapped, so to speak, by the individual. Often a religious and theological turn is given to the characterization of this cosmic something

[3] Swami Vivekananda, "Raja Yoga," Calcutta, 1923.

or other.[4] Sometimes it is expressed in such a fashion as to imply solipsism. It is suggested that the individual includes the cosmos. In moments of exaltation due to the feeling of an infinitely extended ego, it is asserted in such declarations as the following: "Thus, Him, Whom men ignorantly worship under various names, through fear and tribulation, the Yogi declares unto the world to be the living Power that is lying coiled up in every being, the Giver of eternal happiness." [5]

Such beliefs furnish a basis for mysticism. The mystic believes that he stands in a peculiarly intimate and personal relationship with the world spirit, whatever it may be called. He alleges that he has become one with this spirit, or that it is in some mysterious fashion in him. Mystics appear the world over, and are likely to belong to the psychological type which turns its imagination inward and creates a world of its own. They are unwilling to face frankly and grapple with the difficult problems of the world into which we have been unwittingly pitchforked, or perhaps they are incapable of doing so. They seek escape in a world of their own creation. Whether yoga is responsible for the prevalence of mysticism in the East, or *vice versa*, it is difficult to say. They have probably acted and reacted upon each other. It is not necessary to assume that there is a preponderance of persons of the mystical type in the East, but climate may have had an influence, as we shall see presently.

Yoga resembles certain notions and practices known in the West, such as faith-healing, mental-healing, Christian Science, spiritualism, telepathy, etc. They are alike in assuming the existence of a mind, or "soul," which stands apart from the body as a distinct entity, though this is less true of the yoga based on the Sankhya philosophy than it is of the more

[4] "In its essence this cosmic energy known as matter, or thought, or force, or intelligence, or whatever name you choose to give it, is simply the manifestation of that cosmic intelligence, or, as we shall call Him henceforth, the Supreme Lord." (Swami Vivekananda, "Jnana Yoga," Calcutta, 1923, p. 165.)

[5] Swami Vivekananda, "Raja Yoga," p. 55.

religious systems. The method of revery with which it commences its mental exercises is similar to the basic method of psychoanalysis. By this method the psychoanalyst seeks to delve into the unconscious and subconscious of the patient. By means of revery and concentration the yogi believes that he reaches the height of "*samadhi*" or super-consciousness, whatever that may be. It is not unlikely that he is actually plumbing the depths of the unconscious and subconscious.

It is obvious that the theory and practice of yoga are based largely upon psychological errors and delusions as to the constitution of the universe. Instinct is regarded as the lowest means of acquiring knowledge, as if it were an unconscious mode of thinking. In the course of instinctive behavior the organism learns a great deal. But instinct is not in itself a process of thought but an innate tendency to certain specific modes of action. While intellect is recognized as a mode of thinking, the essential doctrine of yoga is that there is a kind of knowledge beyond the intellectual to which man can attain. This doctrine is based upon the postulate of a universal consciousness, for which there is no evidence whatsoever. So far as we know, consciousness is limited to mankind and the higher animal organisms—in any case, to the organic world. To postulate a cosmic consciousness is a wholly untenable and gratuitous assumption.

Through yoga the yogi thinks he attains to this higher knowledge. The above description indicates clearly that he actually renders his consciousness a blank, so that in reality he reaches a condition of no-knowledge. His methods deprive him of whatever he may have succeeded in learning through his intellect. However unintentional on his own part it may be, he is manifestly the victim of self-hypnosis, or at least of self-deception. To believe that he has passed beyond the bounds of time, space, and causation and has attained the absolute is the most egregious delusion of all. It gives rise to the presumptuous claim that he belongs to a class apart from and superior to common mortals who have not attained the

absolute, in which respect he is like mystics and religious fanatics the world over.

And yet, however exaggerated and often ridiculous are the pretensions of the yogi, the yoga methods should be considered on their own merit, and may possess something of value. The physical exercises probably are beneficial, though very one-sided. Exercises which bring the whole body into action are extremely important as well as posture and breathing. Rhythmic bodily movements are more valuable than the comparatively limited rhythm arising out of respiration. Many of them are much more interesting and enjoyable when performed with a specific object, as in work and play, than when imposed as a task, as in yoga. An abstemious diet is often beneficial. But the yoga dietetic ideas are not based upon a broad and scientific knowledge of physiology, so as to constitute a well-rounded dietetic system.

A state of revery may be useful for several purposes. It often serves for rest and relaxation, especially after intense mental application. In the course of it, stimulating ideas may, so to speak, come to the surface. Unperceived relations between facts and ideas may unexpectedly reveal themselves. Concentration is useful when intelligently directed. The attention should be centered on facts and ideas which are of interest and importance. This may necessitate the temporary exclusion of other facts and ideas. But the excluding is not for its own sake, because the latter facts and ideas may be very useful on other occasions.

Generally speaking, the richer the mental life, the more numerous are the facts and ideas entertained and concentrated upon. Needless to say, most of this food for the mind must come from without, for no mind can contain *ab initio,* or at any time, all of the vast store of knowledge available. Furthermore, alternation between the sort of meditation and contemplation induced by a state of revery and the kind of meditation involved in concentration is necessary for the most effective functioning of the mental processes.

How barren is the yoga procedure as compared with the one just outlined! Instead of resulting in a higher form of knowledge, it signifies a progressive denudation and deadening of the mind. As a means of escape from the problems which beset every live and active mind by simulating the new-born infant and idiot, it may have utility. But instead of attaining to a super-consciousness, it has the diametrically opposite effect of stifling the consciousness in so far as it expresses itself in intelligence and personality.

In another work I have described at length the nature of intelligence, consciousness, mind, and personality, and have demonstrated that "consciousness is a complex process made up of feelings and ideas which are unified by the sense of personality which may begin as a vague feeling, but which becomes in course of time a clear-cut idea." [6] This disproves conclusively the fallacy of the yoga theory of consciousness. To go into greater detail would be superfluous.

I have briefly described and criticized yoga because it illustrates concretely and graphically several of the differences between Eastern and Western modes of thought and ideals. To generalize with regard to them is very likely to give rise to misunderstanding. I shall nevertheless state some of these differences as rough generalizations, with the proviso that

[6] "The Science of Human Behavior," p. 321. See especially Chapters XIV, XV, and XVI. My book shows that the mental processes which we call intelligence, feeling, consciousness, etc., have arisen in the higher animals on the basis of sensation. "In an animal with a well developed central nervous system which has acquired a large and varied store of memories, the behavior which results from a certain stimulus may be vastly different from the purely inherited reaction which would respond to that stimulus if these memories were not present to vary and complicate the behavior. Such behavior is intelligent, and the capacity for such variations in behavior constitutes intelligence." (P. 265.)

Man's superior intelligence "is due in part to the superiority of certain of his senses, which are of peculiar value in acquainting him with his environment, inasmuch as they are the functions of distance-receptors. It is due in part to his action-system, which enables him to go through an unusually varied number of movements. It is due in the last place to his extended association areas, which furnish the basis for an unusually extensive and complicated system of connections between sensations, images, and movements." (P. 280.)

each generalization is subject to many exceptions and qualifications. All of the characteristics to be mentioned apply to a certain extent to both East and West. Moreover, they apply in varying degrees to the different parts of the East, which is much less unified than the West, and more to India than elsewhere. They indicate norms set up by thinkers and leaders who influence the common people in a measure. But the life of the masses the world over is much the same in that they are primarily concerned with satisfying the fundamental human wants.

The West emphasizes action, work, and accomplishment; the East, meditation and contemplation. The West is intensely interested in the present mundane existence. The East yearns after a nirvana of non-existence. The West is principally concerned with the relative. The East is preoccupied with the idea of the absolute. The West deals with the particular; the East with the ultimate and the universal. The West is turning more and more to science for guidance. The East still clings to religion and metaphysics.

The West is endeavoring to control nature. The East resigns itself to natural forces. Western control of nature dissipates fear of natural forces through science, invention, and industry, which are rapidly supplanting magic and religion. The East deadens this fear by means of resignation, inaction, and anticipated personal extinction through mergence with the infinite. The West recognizes no past existence, and pays less and less attention to a future one in which it professes to believe. The East believes in a past existence and anticipates a series of future ones.

The East tends to regard the world of phenomena as illusory, and confuses the natural and the supernatural, even though it usually recognizes the distinction between them. The West distinguishes sharply between the two, when it recognizes the supernatural at all, and considers this world as very real. The East is still swayed by a static philosophy of changelessness and fixity. The West is dominated by a

dynamic, pragmatic, instrumental philosophy of change. The East believes in a periodic law of cyclism, of eternal rhythm, which makes it fatalistic. The West is enamored with the idea of evolution and progress toward some goal, whatever it may be, which makes it self-confident and hopeful.

The Easterners are said to be less individualized, because they look forward to ultimate extinction. The West lays great emphasis on individuality and the development of personality. The Eastern doctrine of reincarnation is said to encourage inaction, and perhaps indolence, because its believers think they have many existences to live through automatically. Christianity and Islam teach that there is only one life, the future life being of an entirely different order, so that Westerners live the present life more intensely, endeavoring to get all they can out of it, and leave it reluctantly. The East preaches a gospel of renunciation; the West one of fulfilment. The East is prepossessed with the divine; the West with the human.

These categorical generalizations, which, like every summary statement, are only partially true, apply most of all to India, because certain theological and metaphysical doctrines originated or, to say the least, have been pushed to their logical (or illogical) extreme there. Thence they have spread to other parts of the East, but have had much less influence upon the West. These are the doctrines of maya, or the illusory character of the world in which we live, of metempsychosis resulting in nirvana or extinction by mergence in the infinite, and of karma or fate.[7]

It is not easy to explain the origin and development of this peculiar complex of ideas, which arose perhaps as much as three thousand years ago. It has been suggested that the maya doctrine is appropriate to the tropics, where man does not have to struggle for his existence with nature to the same

[7] Such words as maya, nirvana, and karma are translated in different ways. I have tried to give them their most significant meaning.

extent as in the temperate zone, so that the world never becomes so real a thing for him. It is also possible that a temperate and cold climate stimulates keener sensations and therefore a more vivid impression of the exterior world. While these explanations sound plausible and probably deserve some weight, I know of no other tropical people which has developed a similar doctrine. However, it is not improbable that a hot climate fosters day-dreaming and revery which distract attention from the environment.

The doctrine of metempsychosis, in some form or other, has been held by many primitive as well as civilized peoples. It has probably arisen spontaneously many times out of primitive animistic ideas which have made men feel a close kinship with animals and plants and even with inanimate objects. In India it takes the form of a cycle of existences whose ultimate goal is nirvana, or extinction through mergence with the infinite and absolute. This doctrine is akin to the maya doctrine, because it implies that this world is unreal, and its origin can perhaps be explained on similar grounds. While in India I was often impressed with the strength of the hold which the idea of metempsychosis has upon the Indians. It happened several times that while conversing with Hindus trained in Western science, I discovered that a firm belief in reincarnation persisted back of their scientific ideas. This is a fact which must always be remembered when endeavoring to understand the Indian mind.

The doctrines of maya, metempsychosis, and nirvana lead naturally and inevitably to fatalism, because human destiny is preordained by whatever power or powers are conceived to preside over it. But fatalism is a doctrine which can never be wholly acceptable to human nature, which craves certain things too strongly to refrain entirely from trying to secure them. Thus we have seen that yoga is an attempt to arrive at nirvana more speedily by skipping some of the reincarnations which may otherwise be necessary. The intercessionary

HINDU BURNING GROUND, BOMBAY, INDIA

(Corpse on funeral pyre, feet showing on left)

religions of Krishna and Amidha Buddha adopt the easier methods of salvation through the mediation of these powerful deities. Mahayana Buddhism preaches a paradise of the west with pleasures much more sensual than the eternal peace and bliss of nirvana. Popular Hinduism has a heaven of very earthly delights.

A consideration of this complex of ideas indicates that during a period of perhaps three thousand to twenty-five hundred years ago there took place in India a remarkable episode in the development of human thought. This was the period when the Upanishads were composed, the Sankhya philosophy took shape, and various attempts to place religion on a monistic basis occurred. It closed with the life of Gautama Sakyamuni, who was perhaps more of a reformer than a philosopher, though he was probably greatly influenced by these philosophers.

During this period there were apparently numerous ascetics and sages who devoted themselves to a consideration of the fundamental problems of the universe and of man's destiny. The results were the subtlest and in some respects the soundest hypotheses and theories which mankind evolved prior to the development of modern science. Through the hazy mists of twenty-five centuries we can dimly discern the human mind striving to find a basic unity and a universal law. Thus the paramatman or primeval world-soul and cyclic periodicity of these sages of old faintly foreshadowed the energistic concepts and evolutionary and involutionary processes of the modern scientists. However bizarre may have been some of the notions developed, this episode deserves a high place in the history of human thought.

It is difficult to account for this noteworthy episode. Climate may have had something to do with it. It has been suggested that the abstention from animal food and alcohol, which became a tenet of the Vedic religion during its later development, converted the aggressive and turbulent

"Aryan" into the mild and contemplative Hindu.[8] An eminent student of Buddhism says that just prior to its rise there was the most unquestioned freedom of thought and expression which had ever existed, due to very easy and simple economic conditions.[9] Unfortunately, the Indian writers, with their lack of a historical sense, have left us no record by which we can confirm these suggestions. Whatever the causes may have been, the Vedic religion was succeeded by an efflorescence of thinking which far surpassed its simple nature worship, and which has colored Indian thought ever since.

The Vedanta philosophy, probably the earliest of the Indian systems of thought, is supposed to have been based upon the Vedas, was formulated in part in the Upanishads, and became the philosophy of orthodox Brahmanism. It teaches *advaita* or an unscientific and somewhat spurious kind of monism. The phenomenal world with which we become acquainted through our senses is maya or an illusion. The only reality is Brahma or the world soul. This philosophy was restated by Shankara in about the eighth century of the Christian era. In a modernized form it is taught by certain Indian philosophers and religionists who reject much of popular Hinduism, including the caste system, which is an integral part of orthodox Brahmanism. This was true of Ram Krishna Parahamsa, a saint who lived during the nineteenth century, and his disciple Vivekananda. Unlike the orthodox Hindus, these modern Vedantists regard their philosophy and religion as universal and are trying to teach it to mankind. They combine with it the yoga methods I have described, by means of which they expect to free themselves

[8] See, for example, J. C. Oman, "The Stories of the Ramayana and the Mahabharata," London, 1903.

[9] T. W. Rhys Davids, "Buddhist India," London, 1903. Davids asserts that a progressive civilization existed at the same time in the valleys of the Nile, Euphrates, Ganges, and Yellow rivers, and that independently of each other in the sixth century B.C. in all of these basins was born a religion of conscience which threatened the old religion of magic and custom. He suggests that this combination of coincidences was the best division between the ancient and modern worlds.

from maya and to attain nirvana by absorption or extinction in the world soul.

The Sankhya philosophy probably came into being between 800 and 550 B.C., though it is usually attributed to Kapila, whose authenticity and date cannot be determined and concerning whom there is much myth. This philosophy rejects Brahma and the world soul. Matter is real. Primeval matter (*prakriti*) consists of three constituent elements known as *gunas*—namely, energy, inertia, and existence (conditioned being). While it is a philosophy of realism, it teaches the existence of an infinite plurality of individual souls. Consequently it is dualistic, in contrast to the monistic Vedanta philosophy. As I have already indicated, Gautama apparently was reared in the atmosphere of Sankhya thought and based his teachings upon it, so that Buddhism has been much influenced by this philosophy.

While journeying in Asia, I found the Indians ever ready to expound their views on life and the universe. The Chinese and Japanese are more reserved, and have apparently devoted much less thought to these religious and metaphysical problems, being preoccupied with more mundane matters. There is no evidence of an episode similar to the one in India which has been described. Lao-tze was apparently a mystic who taught a doctrine of quietism, and his principal disciple, Chuang-tze (*circa* 330 B.C.), who came several centuries later, was almost nihilistic in his point of view. As we have seen in the preceding chapter, Taoism has degenerated into little more than witchcraft. Confucius was a traditionalist principally concerned with human relations. Then there were Yang Chu (fourth century B.C.), the pessimistic philosopher, and Mo Ti (fifth and fourth centuries B.C.), the revolutionary altruist, whose philosophy seems to have been pragmatic and therefore more Western than Eastern in its character.

It is said that eighteen Buddhist missionaries reached China in the third century B.C., but Buddhism was not formally

introduced until A.D. 65. As we have seen, it was Mahayanism which took root in China and later went on to Japan, and this religion had diverged greatly from the original Buddhism. In China it was influenced by the practical spirit of Confucianism. In Japan it became to a considerable extent a religion of soldiers, which was indeed a far cry from the spirit of the gentle Indian sage. There is no evidence that philosophy has ever flourished in Japan.

In fact, with reference to these matters, almost as sharp a distinction must be drawn between India and the eastern Asiatic peoples as between India and the West. It may be true that the mystery of the universe presents itself more forcibly to the Asiatic than to the Western mind. But neither China nor Japan is as deeply interested in metaphysics, theology, and religion as is India.[10]

It is sometimes alleged that there is a likeness between Oriental mysticism and that of the European Middle Ages. I have shown that contemplation and meditation for the Indian mystic is a process of gradually eliminating everything from the mind, thus attaining to so-called "*samadhi*" or super-consciousness, and eventually to nirvana or union with the universal consciousness or world soul. It is therefore an essentially impersonal form of mysticism. The Christian mystic, on the contrary, seeks an intimate relation to and union with God and his incarnation upon this earth, Jesus. Christian mysticism is therefore intensely personal. It contains little contemplation in the Indian sense. It is very sensual and more often erotic than in the East.

This contrast is due primarily to the difference between the broadly philosophic character of the Oriental religion upon which Eastern mysticism is based and the narrowly personal

[10] Dickinson, who is one of the shrewdest and most impartial observers of the East, says that the dominant note of India is religion; of China, humanity (by which he apparently means interest in human affairs rather than love of mankind); and of Japan, chivalry. He says that in India religion is life, matter is unreal, human history illusory, and time has no meaning. (G. Lowes Dickinson, "An Essay on the Civilisations of India, China and Japan," London, 1914.)

character of Christianity, which centers around a highly anthropomorphic god and his still more anthropomorphic son.[11] It is also due to the fact that mediæval mysticism was almost entirely monastic, whereas in the Orient mystics are found in many walks of life. Indeed, in India it is expected that the aspirant to yogihood should already have been a householder, parent, and head of a family, and many mystics retain a close touch with the world at large. Thus their senses, and in particular their sexual impulses, have not been repressed as in the narrow confines of celibate monastic life. In the latter it is to be expected that the sensual passions, deprived of their natural and normal expression, will manifest themselves in neural and emotional disturbances, in vi-

[11] In interesting contrast with the Oriental mysticism which I have described is the following statement regarding mysticism according to Christian theology, by a devout and pietistic Christian writer of to-day, which illustrates the intensely personal character of Christian mysticism:

"By the grace of God, supremely manifested in the Incarnation, the man is humbled, and his heart is touched and drawn to love the power of the divine pity and humility. The lesson of the Incarnation and its guiding grace, emboldens the heart and enlightens the mind; and the man's faculties are strengthened and uplifted to the contemplation of God, wherein the mind is satisfied and the heart at rest. . . . [Mysticism] includes a sense of the supreme, a sense of God, who is too great for human reason to comprehend, and therefore a mystery. And it includes a yearning toward God, the desire of him, and the feeling of love. . . . The final goal attainable by this mystic love is, even as the goal of other love, union with the Beloved. The mystic spirit is an essential part of all piety or religion, which relates always and forever to the rationally unknown and therefore mysterious. Without a consciousness of mystery, there can be neither piety nor religion. Nor can there be piety without some devotion to God, nor the deepest and most ardent forms of piety, without fervent love of God." (H. O. Taylor, "The Mediaeval Mind," London, 1925, fourth edition, 2 vols., Vol. II, pp. 392-3.)

Taylor furnishes an abundance of data concerning monastic mysticism. But the Christian propaganda which he avows in his Preface renders him incapable of subjecting them to an unbiased, critical, and scientific analysis and interpretation.

A modern European mystic gives a somewhat broader and less personal definition of mysticism:

"Mysticism is the art of union with Reality. The mystic is a person who has attained that union in greater or less degree; or who aims at and believes in such attainment." (Evelyn Underhill, "Practical Mysticism," New York, 1915, p. 3.)

sions and hallucinations, in strange cravings and abnormal practices, in erotic dreams and amorous utterances which are supposed to state Christian doctrines and beliefs in a symbolical manner.

St. Bernard (1090-1153), abbot of Clairvaux (Clara Vallis), who promoted the Second Crusade, was perhaps the greatest of mediæval mystics. In his "De Consideratione" he characterizes contemplation as follows: "*Contemplatio* may be defined as the true and certain intuition of the mind (*intuitus animi*) regarding anything, or the sure apprehension of the true: while *consideratio* is thought intently searching, or the mind's endeavor to track out the true." (*Lib. II, cap. 2.*) This is the claim to an esoteric and super-rational source of knowledge and mode of attaining the truth characteristic of all mystics. In Bernard's case the expression of mysticism often took an ecstatic form, as when he cried in his yearning for Jesus: "*Ipse, ipse me osculetur*" ("He himself, let him kiss me."). His sermons are devoted largely to love of Christ and of God. He utilizes the sensual and carnal language of the flesh, his texts often being taken from the amorous Canticle or Song of Solomon. "O love (*amor*), headlong, vehement, burning, impetuous, that canst think of nothing beyond thyself, detesting all else, despising all else, satisfied with thyself! . . . Everything which the soul-bride utters resounds of thee and nothing else; so hast thou possessed her heart and tongue." (*Sermo LXXXIX* in *Cantica.*)

Many nuns experienced visions, hallucinations, morbid delusions, trances, and the like, which very often were deeply tinged with eroticism centering around visual images of the body of Christ and sometimes involving a visualization of the Almighty Himself. One of the most revered was Ste. Mary of Ognies (*circa* 1177-1213), who had a trance lasting thirty-five days in communion with Jesus, only occasionally saying: "I desire the body of the Lord Jesus Christ" (the Eucharist). Sister Mechthild (*circa* 1212-1277) described her experiences

of divine love in a book entitled "The Flowing Light of God," which is passionately sensual in its style. "To God will I go, who is my Father by nature, my Brother through his humility, my Bridegroom through love, and I am His forever." ("Das fliessende Licht," etc., I, 38-44.) If space permitted, numerous instances could be cited of the hypersensual mysticism of the mediæval monks and nuns as contrasted with the relatively calm and quietistic mysticism of the East.

Chapter V

WESTERN ADAPTATION AND EASTERN PERFECTIONISM

I was having tea with one of the few eminent scientists the Orient has produced, Sir Jagadis Chunder Bose, and his charming wife. After discussing his investigations, he showed me in his Research Institute the remarkable instruments which he has invented, such as the magnetic crescograph which magnifies one hundred million times and the resonant recorder which measures intervals of five thousandths of a second. I saw his experiments in the anatomy and physiology of plants which have led him to believe that plants have a nervous system like that of animal organisms, and display psychical traits like those of animals. While both plants and animals belong to the organic world, I had long felt that Dr. Bose pushed the analogy between them too far. I suggested to the genial physicist and physiologist of Calcutta that the belief in transmigration dominant in India, which implies the passing of souls back and forth between animals and plants, had perhaps influenced him to emphasize unduly the similarities between the two branches of the organic world. This he vigorously denied, asserting that he is an experimental scientist and knows nothing about philosophy. But in the course of our lengthy conversation he talked about the nature of God and the soul. A few weeks later he delivered an address at the Hindu University in Benares in which he referred often to God and quoted much religious poetry.

The outstanding intellectual difference between the East and the West is with respect to the scientific point of view and attitude of mind. During the past three centuries science

ASTRONOMICAL INSTRUMENTS, JAIPUR, INDIA

has made greater strides in the West than during all preceding time the world over. It has transformed Occidental culture not only materially but mentally as well. Most of the intellectual leaders of the West have a scientific point of view. Few of the masses possess it consciously. But in their daily life they are applying it constantly. In the factories the workers are continually using machinery and methods which are due almost entirely to science. The use of steam and electricity, the engine, steamship, railroad, telegraph, telephone, aëroplane, and many other everyday appliances would not be in existence were it not for science. Even the conservative agricultural class is applying science more and more in the fertilization of the soil, the rotation of crops, and in the use of machinery.

It is generally recognized that the processes of nature take place with a regularity which is interpreted as indicating that they are governed by so-called laws or principles. The hand of a deity has largely disappeared from the Westerner's view of the universe. Even exceptional events are often regarded as natural, when scientists have provided the public with an explanation of their causes. In January, 1925, with millions of other inhabitants of New York, I watched the sun disappear behind the moon. A strange twilight covered the face of the earth for a short time, while the black rim of the moon was surrounded by a gleaming corona. Then the glowing solar disk reappeared. It was a most extraordinary sight. Few persons have the opportunity to observe a total eclipse of the sun more than once in a lifetime. And yet, apart from a few religious fanatics who predicted the end of the world, no one was disturbed by this exceptional event.

At times of crises when people face unusual danger and suffer greatly, they often turn to hypothetical supernatural beings for relief, as in case of serious illness, death, drought, flood, earthquake, war, etc.[1] While some of them pray and

[1] As I was writing the above lines, I read in a newspaper that special church services were being held in a town in Michigan for the safety of one of its

worship perfunctorily at all times, very few do so seriously except at critical moments.

The contrast with the Orient in these matters is very great. How much the East accomplished in the scientific world prior to modern times is a moot question. It has played no part whatsoever in the modern development of science, which constitutes much the larger part of it. Even the scientific studies of Oriental countries have been made by Western scientists. The anthropology, history, sociology, geology, biology, and psychology of the East has been a Western study, with a very few slight exceptions. Thus the scholars of the Orient find themselves confronted with an already extensive body of data to which they must adjust their ancient lore and adapt their methods.[2] Not even their attitude of mind is sufficiently scientific to enable them to utilize fruitfully this valuable gift from the Occident. Indeed, many of their prepossessions must be swept away before they can begin to acquire a scientific point of view.

As for the Oriental masses, the material culture which has resulted from modern science has not yet been introduced into the East to a sufficient degree to give them the feeling of the regularity and recurrency of natural phenomena which is already somewhat prevalent among the common people of the Occident. Consequently, the use of supernatural devices to influence natural processes is widespread. In India and many other parts of the Orient religion plays a much more important and intimate part in the daily life

citizens who was lost while flying from California to Hawaii. ("New York Times," August 20, 1927.)

[2] "The wise men of the East have been puzzling, and are puzzling, as to what may be the regulative secret of life which can be passed from West to East without the wanton destruction of their own inheritance which they so rightly prize. More and more it is becoming evident that what the West can most readily give to the East is its science and its scientific outlook. This is transferable from country to country, and from race to race, wherever there is a rational society." (A. N. Whitehead, "Science and the Modern World," New York, 1926, p. 4.)

than in the West. Magic in the form of astrology, geomancy, necromancy, and the like is widely used.

This contrast is so striking and so far-reaching in its consequences that it is worth while to consider why the Orient failed to reach the scientific stage of its own accord. Indeed, there is reason to believe that without the leadership of the Occident the East would not have attained this stage for a very long time, if ever.

It is often alleged by Hindus that India in ancient times discovered almost all of the data and principles of modern science. This claim has been made among other sciences with respect to physics, chemistry, biology, and the theory of evolution.[3] Ancient India made some contributions to mathematics, astronomy, probably to biology, and possibly to a few other sciences. But there is no evidence whatsoever that Western science was anticipated. In the first place, there is not a trace of modern science in the ancient literature. This claim is based on a misinterpretation of the texts by reading into them many modern ideas of which their writers never even dreamed. This is an error easy to commit, because the Indian sages were given to developing cosmological ideas and systems. Consequently, they often made general statements which might mean almost anything or nothing at all. Their method was not inductive, and they had none of the vast mass of carefully and laboriously gathered data upon which Western science is based.

Second, if India had indeed anticipated most or all of Western science, it is inconceivable that Indian culture would

[3] A teacher of science in the University of Calcutta writes as follows: "The Indians had familiarised from yore the idea of evolution. . . . First, we get the Fish (Matsya), then the Turtle (of the Mesozoic) and then the Boar (of the Cainozoic). Then comes half beast half man, then ill-formed man of dwarfish stature. Of course then come men which according to Indians were 'epoch-types' in the evolution of Universal Spiritual Life, *e.g.*, Rama, Krishna (or his elder brother) Buddha and the last to come, Kalki." (Panchanan Mitra, "The Science of Man—Its Indian Standpoint," in "The Calcutta Review," January, 1924.)

be as it now is. Its material culture would have been greatly modified by the application of these scientific facts and ideas in the arts. The belief in the supernatural could not possibly have so strong a hold upon the minds not only of the masses but of the intellectual leaders as well. The modes of thought would be very different. Indian philosophy is not based upon a rigorous use of inductive and deductive methods. It arises largely out of meditation over phrases into which the thinker tries to sink himself until it takes complete possession of his mind. Out of such meditation arise the rather monotonous and often repetitious generalizations of Indian metaphysics. It is said that to the present day the Indian mother teaches her child the art of meditation as the submersion of the will into the highest which it can conceive. Such methods tend to emasculate the mind and to divorce it from dealing effectively with the only world with which we can be acquainted—namely, the world of phenomena which we know through our senses.[4]

The signs of this situation are visible on every hand in India. Most of the Hindus bear painted on the brow the insignia of their sects. Thus it is possible to ascertain at first sight whether a Hindu is a follower of Shiva or of Vishnu. In most matters of common interest the lines are drawn according to the religious cult. Thus the term "community" invariably means a religious group. In Bombay I was taken to see the annual match games of cricket. The teams were the Hindu, Moslem, Parsee, and European. With the exception of the last, the designations were religious. While religious factors enter at times into politics, sport, etc., in Europe and

[4] An Indian writer on linguistics says that Western scholars have produced all of the valuable critical studies of Indian literature, "while the Indian Pandits with their profound memorising of ancient texts and wonderful grasp of their contents are not capable of producing work which can be universally regarded as original in any sense of the term." He asserts that this failure is due to their lack of an inductive method. (P. K. Gode, "On the Method of Linguistic Research," in the "Indian Review," August, 1925.)

America, most matters of common interest have become entirely secularized and the religious differences are ignored.

I rarely ever picked up a native newspaper without finding in it several advertisements of astrologers. Before me lies a well-known monthly journal in which there is a laudatory review of a book on astrology, wherein the reviewer says that the author "has investigated Rajayoga horoscopes, and horoscopes conducive to unlimited longevity, has determined the total number of possible horoscopes coming under the name of Samkhya yogas." While belief in astrology is by no means dead in the West, it does not manifest itself in this widespread fashion.

The medical lore of India is contained in the Ayurveda. Based upon it is the ayurvedic system of medicine which is still widely used by the Hindus. Its central theory is that illness is due to disorder in one of the four humors. Its therapeutic measures consist largely in the prescription of potions made from herbs, supplemented in many cases by the repetition of mantras or charms. Its acquaintance with anatomy and physiology is very slight, because it is not based upon dissection. Of the zymotic causes of disease it knows nothing, because it has not had the use of high-power microscopes with which to isolate the germs which give rise to many diseases. Before me lies the calendar (dated 1923) of the government Ayurvedic College of the State of Mysore, which I have visited. The requirements for admission are that "candidates must possess a fair knowledge of Sanskrit" and that "a knowledge of English will be a necessary qualification." The four years' course is devoted to the ayurvedic methods with the exception of Western anatomy taught in the first year, Western physiology in the second year, and Western hygiene in the third year.

In Hyderabad I was invited to address the annual meeting of the Moslem physicians of that state, who practise the unani or Arabic system, which is similar to the ayurvedic. It was a colorful scene which met my eye, for many of these Eastern

practitioners were wearing varicolored garments. The chairman suggested that I speak on the recent advance of medicine in the West. A high official of the state, who was educated in England, intimated that as they know very little about germs as the causes of disease, I might discuss that phase. At the close of the meeting one of the leading physicians, who had received some training in Western medicine, whispered to me that he agreed with everything I had said.

Every visitor to Venice has seen at the entrance to the Grand Canal the large church of Santa Maria della Salute. It was constructed several centuries ago in an effort to check a great epidemic which was raging. The West has traveled a long way since that time. Experimental science and laboratory research have furnished an accurate knowledge of anatomy and physiology, have disclosed the causes of many diseases, and have indicated not only their cure but also their prevention. No longer are churches built to prevent epidemics, but much more effective measures of public sanitation are used. Medical treatment and hygiene have decreased the mortality and morbidity rates to an astonishing degree. While physicians still fail deplorably to furnish the public wise guidance in matters of diet, exercise, and the exposure of the body to the sunlight and air, Western medicine is, nevertheless, one of the numerous triumphs of applied science.

Lacking a basis in experimental science, the ayurvedic, unani, and other Asiatic systems of medicine have been wholly unable to cope with epidemics. With little knowledge of anatomy and physiology, and ignorant of the causes of infectious diseases, the gaunt figure of disease aided by frequent famines could stalk unchecked and reap its annual harvest of deaths. Not until Western medicine and sanitation were introduced did the mortality and morbidity rates begin to fall in India, Java, the Philippines, and elsewhere where Western nations had assumed control. Whether or not this control is for the best in the long run will be discussed in a later chapter. But by preventing disease and famines, as

well as in many other ways, Occidental science has already improved the material welfare of the Orient so greatly as to put it heavily in debt to the West.

The failure of China to develop science is to be explained on somewhat different grounds from the case of India. China possessed a relatively high material culture as much as three thousand years ago, which has persisted to the present day. The Great Wall, which is more than fifteen hundred miles in length, was completed over twenty-one centuries ago. The irrigation system of the Chengtu plain in western China is nearly as old, and is still in use. The Grand Canal, extending for a thousand miles from Hangchow to Tientsin, was reconstructed about six centuries ago. The diking of the turbid and unruly waters of the Yellow River has repeatedly necessitated vast engineering enterprises.

The magnetic needle was in use very early for geomantic purposes, but was not utilized as the mariner's compass until it was seen and applied to navigation by Arab traders who came to Canton perhaps as early as A.D. 300. Explosive powder was discovered probably very early, but was used only for fireworks until its application to firearms was learned from the Europeans.

The Chinese are not very religious and therefore they are tolerant. Their social and cultural institutions have in the main been secular in character. They are rational in the sense of trying to adjust their human and social relationships in a reasonable fashion, though they have displayed little of the higher types of reasoning involved in philosophical and scientific thought. Their art and literature contain comparatively few references to the supernatural, and are simple in the sense of not being bizarre and grotesque or unduly ornate. Poetry is extant from 1100 B.C. and even earlier which is realistic even when intended to be suggestive. There is no epic literature, and the drama and novel were introduced under the Mongol dynasty (A.D. 1260-1368).[5]

[5] See H. A. Giles, "A History of Chinese Literature," New York, 1901, p. 256.

China played an important part in four inventions which have had a large share in the making of modern civilization—namely, paper, printing, gunpowder, and the compass. The two latter I have already mentioned. The two former are closely connected in their use and significance.

Seals have been found dating as far back as 255 B.C., just as they had been used much earlier in Babylonia and Egypt. Genuine paper, that is to say, paper made from rags, was apparently invented early in the Christian era, probably about A.D. 100. The earliest extant block prints date from A.D. 770. Printing was apparently encouraged by the Buddhists to aid in the dissemination of Buddhistic literature. The earliest printed book which has so far been discovered is the Diamond Sutra, dating from A.D. 868. Movable type was invented in the eleventh century. It was first wooden, then metal. The first metal type was cast in a foundry in Korea, and the earliest extant book printed from movable metal type was in Korea in 1409.

These inventions slowly made their way westward across Asia and eventually reached Europe. First came paper, which was an essential preliminary to printing. Then came the various forms of printing. So that Gutenberg's discovery may not have been wholly or even in large part original, since it may have been inspired by these products from the Far East.[6]

[6] A full account of these matters is given in Thomas F. Carter, "The Invention of Printing in China and Its Spread Westward," New York, 1925.

"Of all the world's great inventions, that of printing is the most cosmopolitan and international. China invented paper and first experimented with block printing and movable type. Japan produced the earliest block prints that are now extant. Korea first printed with type of metal cast from a mould. India furnished the language and the religion of the earliest block prints. People of Turkish race were among the most important agents in carrying block printing across Asia, and the earliest extant type are in a Turkish tongue. Persia and Egypt are the two lands of the Near East where block printing is known to have been done before it began in Europe. The Arabs were the agents who prepared the way by carrying the making of paper from China to Europe. Paper making actually entered Europe through Spain, though imported paper had already come in through the Greek Empire at Constantinople. France and Italy were the first countries in Christendom to manufacture paper. As for

MOENTILAN, CENTRAL JAVA

VILLAGE OF PLAOSAN, HARVESTING RICE, CENTRAL JAVA

The technical and inventive skill of the Chinese, their tolerance, the secular character of their institutions, the rationalism displayed in their everyday life, the orderliness of their social organization, and various other traits seem to indicate that they should have developed science. And yet they have failed to do so as completely as the Indians.[7] While this is not easy to explain, a few facts may be cited which throw some light on the situation.

Chinese scholarship is very extensive, and some of it of excellent quality. The Chinese, unlike the Indians, have a strong historical sense. Consequently, their histories are numerous, and with a more or less exact chronology. But they are rarely ever illuminating as to the causes of historical events. Many dictionaries have been compiled and several encyclopedias, the principal one being in many volumes. The essay has been a favorite type of writing. There are works on medical jurisprudence which are extremely inaccurate in their knowledge of human anatomy and physiology. Chinese scholars have displayed great industry in amassing numerous facts, but have done little to interpret them. Most of their works have been commentaries on the classics, the Confucian classics in particular. Generally speaking and with certain exceptions and qualifications, the Chinese mind as revealed in their scholarship is traditionalist, uncreative, lacking in imagination and the spirit of adventure, unsystematic, uncon-

block printing and its advent into Europe, Russia's claim to have been the channel rests on the oldest authority, though Italy's claim is equally strong. Germany, Italy and the Netherlands were the earliest centers of the block printing art. Holland and France, as well as Germany, claim first to have experimented with typography. Germany perfected the invention, and from Germany it spread to all the world." (P. 185.)

[7] "For thousands of years, there have been in China acute and learned men patiently devoting their lives to study. Having regard to the span of time, and to the population concerned, China forms the largest volume of civilisation which the world has seen. There is no reason to doubt the intrinsic capacity of individual Chinamen for the pursuit of science. And yet Chinese science is practically negligible. There is no reason to believe that China if left to itself would have ever produced any progress in science. The same may be said of India." (A. N. Whitehead, *op. cit.*, pp. 8-9.)

structive, and too much given to detail to be synthetic and to arrive at broad generalizations.

Ancestor worship is well calculated to encourage conservatism and traditionalism. The highest morality is to follow the example of the dead, which is not conducive to change and progress. It led in China to excessive emphasis on the classics, especially the Confucian classics, because they contain the teachings of the venerated forefathers. Chinese education has consisted largely of memorizing the classics, which does not develop the logical and reasoning faculties. The colossal example of this was the examination system, in which the chief requisite for success was ability to memorize. Such training could not prepare the Chinese mind for the individual initiative, intellectual curiosity, freedom from hard and fast notions, desire to gather new data, and ability to analyze and generalize which are necessary for scientific research.

The Chinese language and script have been serious hindrances. The nouns are apparently indeclinable and have no gender and case. The adjectives have no degrees of comparison. The verbs have no voice, mode, tense, number, and person. There is no recognizable distinction between nouns, adjectives, and verbs, for any character may be used in each of these capacities. Such a language invites "intellectual turbidity," because it is difficult to express in it clear and precise ideas.[8] The script is clumsy beyond measure, and requires years of laborious effort to master. The standard dictionary, compiled during the Kang-h'si period (seventeenth century A.D.), is said to contain 44,449 characters. Inasmuch as, until within the last few years, all writing was in the classical language and script comprehensible only to the literati, the vast majority were entirely excluded from scholarly work.

[8] Arthur H. Smith, "Chinese Characteristics," New York, 1894; fifth edition; "Village Life in China," New York, 1899, fourth edition. Smith is an American missionary who has resided in China for many decades both in villages and in cities.

For many centuries China was surrounded by countries much inferior to it in their culture. Consequently, the vanity of the Chinese was flattered, and a contempt for foreigners inspired which was directed against their dress, ignorance of the Chinese language and customs, failure to conform to Chinese ideals of ceremony (which assume great importance in their eyes), and freedom between the sexes in the case of Europeans. This attitude toward foreigners exists to a certain extent in every country, but was emphasized in China by centuries of comparative isolation. The literati, or scholars, have been the chief enemies of foreigners when they have seen their prerogatives menaced by a new literature and different standards introduced from outside. This happened toward the Buddhist missionaries, and led in several cases to persecution. It has also happened in their attitude toward Westerners.[9]

Inasmuch as science failed to develop, magic has persisted to a degree which is astonishing in view of the high plane attained by Chinese culture in other respects. Perhaps the most prevalent form is *feng-shui* (wind-water), which is a

[9] One of the best-known Chinese scholars of to-day, who was educated in the United States and is trying to introduce the vernacular and a simplified script into scholarship and literature, criticizes the work of the scholars, especially of the last two or Ming and Tsing dynasties (A.D. 1368-1911), in the following words: "First, the scope of intensive research was too narrow. Their studies were practically limited to the Confucian classics. . . . Thus, the 2400 commentaries of the last 300 years, while representing a vast amount of patient, earnest scholarship, lost much of their value because of the narrow scope of the work. . . . A second shortcoming of this native scholarship is found in the lack of systematic organization of the work. There is too much fragmentary laboring, without creative and constructive imagination. The detail is too great. The work was careful in technique, but poor in systematic construction. This is a national fault of Chinese thinking. Only a half a dozen systematically written books have appeared in the last 2000 years. Works of Chinese scholars are chiefly *Chi,* that is, collections; or *Tsa Chih,* that is, notes or fragments. Only a few books have a distinct focus around which all the material is organized. . . . Finally, this scholarship was too poor in collateral material for comparative study. Often slight help from collateral sources in some other language would have saved much labor." (Hu Shih, "Sinological Research at the Present Time," "Peking Leader," reprint No. 11, 1925.)

complicated system of geomancy by means of which the good luck of sites and buildings is determined. It seems to have developed out of the older *yin-yang* idea. *Yin* means evil spirits, and also moon, darkness, and female. *Yang* means good spirits, and also sun, light, and male. While Taoism specializes in magic, geomancy is so widespread that there are Confucian and Buddhist as well as Taoist *feng-shui* specialists. *Feng-shui* has often hindered mining operations, irrigation schemes, construction works, railway projects, and the like. On the other hand, it has led to the building of many pagodas to appease evil spirits. Necromancy also is very prevalent. Unburied coffins often wait some time for the choice of lucky graves by necromancers.[10]

It is difficult enough to explain why events take place in cultural evolution. It is often even more difficult to explain why they do not happen. A complete and conclusive explanation as to why science did not develop in the East is out of the question. We have seen that in India an ardent interest in religion, a strong tendency toward cosmological and metaphysical speculation, and an intense desire to transform the personality by methods which encourage introspective rather than objective habits of thinking were antithetical to the inductive and experimental methods which are essential for science. In China ancestor worship early acquired a firm grip and promoted the stability of the Chinese culture. But the filial reverence which it inspired gave rise to a conservatism and self-satisfaction which effectually prevented the radical departure which science and its application require.

It must not be forgotten that science is a comparatively recent factor in the Western world, and might very easily have failed to develop at all. The Greeks in Asia Minor and the Hellenic peninsula, influenced from Indian, Mesopotamian, and Egyptian sources, made a small beginning, and then came a long interlude. The Roman Empire, somewhat like its great

[10] See W. E. Soothill, "The Three Religions of China," London, 1913. Soothill was for many years an English missionary in China.

contemporary the Chinese Empire, spread a political and military order throughout the West. Its authority was highly centralized, so that it did not foster a spirit of free research and investigation.

It was succeeded by the Roman church, which was and is the most centralized and institutionalized religion in the world. Under its hierarchical rule there was little freedom for independent thinking. It was largely responsible for the gloomy centuries of the Dark and Middle Ages. Monastic ideals and a static philosophy prevailed, and the universities existed largely for the training of monks. The sort of contemplation and meditation encouraged was hardly more fruitful than that of the Indian yoga systems. For nearly two thousand years science was nearly at a standstill, almost the only exceptions being a few contributions from the Arabic culture, which were by-products, so to speak, of the sudden and rapid spread of Islam. But no more than Christianity did Islam contain the possibility of stimulating science to develop to its full fruition.

Then came a concatenation of events which played their part in preparing the way for the coming of science, such as exploration leading to the discovery of America and the routes to the East, the invention of printing, the renaissance of learning, the discovery of the ancient classics, the revolt against the church, the increase of wealth and leisure. These and many other factors aroused men's minds and broadened their outlook. The Greek tradition of questioning and investigating was awakened. Unlike the speculative cosmologies and metaphysics of the East and of the mediæval philosophers, the scientists sought first the pertinent data and then based their theories thereon.

The empirical method led to an inductive logic, which in turn gave rise to habits of thinking and reasoning markedly different from those of the Orient. While India dreamed in its mental seclusion and China plodded along its well-worn path in its geographical isolation, men of the West were

beginning to realize that religious dogmas, metaphysical hypotheses, human desires and fantasies, ethical doctrines, political theories, and social and economic systems must bow their heads before what William James called "the irreducible and stubborn facts" of science.

Science is derived in part from intellectual curiosity as to the nature of observable phenomena and whatever may lie back of them, and in part from attempts to attain practical ends, which, however blundering and ineffective they may be, result in accidentally bringing to light new data. Thus astrology aided the development of astronomy, alchemy of chemistry. Science is in turn applied to the attainment of these ends. The application of modern science has encouraged more and more the hope of controlling nature in the interest of mankind as far as possible. When such control is or appears to be out of the question, it is supplemented or replaced by adaptation to nature. Thus the ideas of control and of adaptation are increasingly influencing the Western world under the guidance of science. They encourage a mental flexibility, an open-mindedness toward change and progress such as has never before existed to the same degree in the world.

In the East man still retains in the main an attitude of resignation toward the natural forces which he knows no way to control, though he tries to influence them by means of religion and magic. Droughts, floods, famine, disease, an excessive birth-rate, and like evils are fatalistically accepted instead of striven against as in the West. Since nothing can be done with nature, the attainment of perfection becomes the ideal, rather than adaptation to the environment.

In India the ideal is to acquire holiness, saintliness, and divinity. Consequently, this vast peninsula is overrun with sadhus, sannyasins and yogis. Some of the methods used by the yoga systems have been described in the preceding chapter. While climbing a lofty mountain, I came to a shrine of Nandi the bull, the faithful attendant of the great god

Shiva. Out of an adjoining cave emerged a gaunt, half-starved figure, clad only in a loin-cloth and shivering in the chill air of the high altitude. Gibbering with excitement at the presence of unexpected visitors, he ran around the idol followed by his sole companion, a dog. It was a sadhu who was seeking the perfection of sanctity by devoting himself to the care of the shrine.

In China the craving for holiness is much less prevalent than in India. Indeed, it may be said to exist only to the extent that Buddhism has succeeded in introducing it. But another ideal of perfection wields a powerful influence. Instead of the gods, the revered ancestors constitute an archetype to be copied. Traditionalism and formalism expressed in elaborate ceremonies, a code of formal courtesy which is a ritual of technicalities, the observing of "face" and of "good" form which constitutes "propriety," play an important part in the make-up of the Chinese gentleman and "moral" person.

While these traits exist everywhere, in the West there is greater latitude and more opportunity for adaptation and adjustment on the part of the individual. The Chinese moral code has played a large part in the perpetuation of Chinese civilization. But its ideal of perfection is too narrow to afford much opportunity for the development of individual types. And yet, as we shall see in the following chapter, the greater flexibility and adaptability of the West have in some respects socialized its ethics more than has taken place in the East.

One of the outstanding contrasts between the East and the West is with respect to standards of precision and accuracy. Every European and American country accumulates a large mass of statistics concerning many matters of scientific and social significance. While traveling in the Orient, I was often hampered by the dearth of accurate statistical information. In China there are only vague and widely varying estimates of population.[11] Japan has already copied the Occi-

[11] Smith says that a fact is the hardest thing to ascertain in China. He asserts that this is because ordinary speech is full of insincerity, partly owing to the

dent with characteristic thoroughness. In that country I was deluged with statistics by governmental departments, scientific organizations, and the like. I have already commented on the Indian lack of interest. The principal source of precise and reliable information is the census of India, which is entirely due to the British administration.

This indifference to measurement and size is another indication of the notable absence of a scientific attitude of mind in the East. This does not mean that the Orient is not alive to many qualitative distinctions whose significance is perhaps not fully appreciated in the Occident. The concept of evolution now has much influence over the Western mind. But to it is often given a teleological interpretation which colors the prevalent ideas of social and cultural progress. Even certain religious sects have accepted the theory of evolution in its erroneous teleological misinterpretation.

So far as science is concerned, evolution is merely a name for a process of change. Its first great exponent, Herbert Spencer, recognized this and indicated clearly that evolution is correlated with and balanced by involution. This fact was dimly perceived by Indian sages two or three thousand years ago, though they failed to describe this process of change accurately and in detail, as has been accomplished to a considerable extent by Western scientists. But these sages of old and scientists of to-day are at one in realizing that there can be no purpose or end in this infinite and universal process of change.

The West is obsessed with an idea of progress which is largely dominated by a quantitative ideal of magnitude. In another work I have said that this ideal of Occidental civilization "includes a large population, much of which is crowded into monstrous cities, the production of huge quantities of material goods, the intensive exploitation of natural resources and of human labor, the extensive use of physical force in in-

influence of formal courtesy. He fails to recognize the influence of an unscientific attitude of mind. (A. H. Smith, "Chinese Characteristics.")

dustry and warlike activities, and the employment of science and invention mainly for these purposes. In this crudely materialistic welter the principal criterion is quantity rather than quality, while the promotion of human happiness, the development of personality, and man's intimate relation with nature are almost entirely ignored and forgotten." [12]

When Eastern thinkers see the hustle and bustle, the struggle and strife of the West, it is not surprising that they raise the pertinent question as to the purpose of all this noise and effort. But the Orient also has failed lamentably in solving the difficult problem of the art of living. Hence it is a joint undertaking for East and West to attempt to solve, with the aid of science, this problem which is of supreme importance, not to a universe coldly and sublimely oblivious of human welfare, but to mankind.

[12] "The New Gymnosophy, the Philosophy of Nudity as Applied in Modern Life," New York, 1927, pp. 256-7. This book was suppressed by the United States District Attorney in New York, who alleged that it is indecent and incites to crime. This incident indicates that, in spite of its boasted science, the West has not yet attained freedom of speech and of publication.

Chapter VI

ORIENTAL FAMILISM AND OCCIDENTAL INDIVIDUALISM

On top of the broad wall overlooking the lily pads of the North Lake in the grounds of the Winter Palace in Peking is a small palace or villa. Here I found the scholar and statesman Dr. W. W. Yen, who was clad in European dress and seated at a very businesslike desk. Educated in the United States, editor of the Anglo-Chinese Dictionary, and for years a diplomat in Europe, he is well acquainted with both Eastern and Western culture. In 1924 and again in 1926 he was prime minister, and it was in the midst of his official duties that I met him.

We were soon engaged in a discussion of Chinese civilization. The individual is merged in the family and other small groups such as the guild. Even the common examination year is a bond, though there has been little or no personal contact. The degree of separation between members of a family which often exists in the Occident is incomprehensible to the Chinese. Dr. Yen related that in Europe he had known well for several years a gentleman and his wife before he discovered that this man's mother was still living. He was much astonished to learn that, though they were on affectionate terms, the mother lived alone by preference, while the son called to see her once a week.

According to Dr. Yen, the concept of law is weak in China, but sentiment and loyalty to one's group is very strong. While favoritism to one's family is condemned in the Occident, nepotism is regarded as the right and proper thing

in China. On the other hand, while the law is weak, art and morals are emphasized in Chinese civilization.

Some weeks later I had a lengthy conversation with China's best-known statesman, Tong Shao-yi, at his home in the International Settlement at Shanghai. He is living in retirement, and I found him in his library of many volumes. Mr. Tong was one of the earliest Chinese students to be educated in America. After a long public career, he became the first prime minister of the republic in 1912.

Mr. Tong asserted that the Chinese family system will persist in spite of destructive Western influences. He described how it is organized around the family temple, to which part of the family wealth belongs, which pays for marriages, funerals, education, and helps impoverished members of the family. His own Tong family in the province of Kwangtung in southern China has about six thousand members. He expressed the opinion that the Chinese system promotes morality much better than Occidental individualism.

It is often said that the individual is the unit of society in the West, the family in the East. While this is too categorical a statement to be entirely true, it raises several interesting questions. Is individuality suppressed, causing greater uniformity of personality in the Orient? Is there greater differentiation of personality and more genius in the Occident? Is morality more socialized in the East? Is there more democracy in the West? Is there more formal courtesy in the Orient? What effects do these partly contrasted systems have upon human relations, such as between husband and wife, parent and child, master and servant, employer and employee? Does Eastern family life stand in the way of a broader social life?

In China what is called the family is usually the greater-family or clan.[1] According to Confucian doctrine a newly

[1] "The Chinese family is seldom an independent unit, but a member of the greater-family. In the Chinese village, families bearing the same surname live together. The members of the greater-family generally number hundreds and

married pair is not a distinct and independent entity, as it is in the Occident. Usually it becomes a part of the husband's household under the rule of his father, the bride coming largely under the domination of her mother-in-law. When a household breaks up on account of the death of the father, or because it has become too unwieldy, or for any other reason, the kinship relations with the greater-family are retained. The family is ruled by the father, the clan by a board of elders, which is a more democratic arrangement.

The family and clan organization is said to be stronger in southern China, where life is more settled than in the north. This type of social organization obviously cannot maintain itself in a migratory population. The strong desire of the Chinese to be buried at home due to their family feeling causes unequal distribution of population, because it is difficult to induce the inhabitants of the densely populated provinces to migrate to the thinly settled regions, such as Manchuria and Mongolia. Recent attempts at colonization have been hampered by this sentiment in favor of home burial.

The life of the clan centers around its temple, where a tablet of wood is placed for every member who dies. Ancestor worship takes place on certain festivals and family anniversaries. Owing to the overwhelming importance of ancestor worship, domestic religion is much stronger than personal religion. This doubtless accounts in part for the tolerance and catholicity of the Chinese in matters of religion and their secular and common sense attitude toward many phases of life. Mysticism is not likely to proliferate under such conditions.

The board of elders manages the affairs of the temple and administers the funds of the clan. It has a certain amount of

sometimes thousands. They have a common ancestral temple which is the center of their social and religious life." (Ching-chao Wu, "The Chinese Family: Organization, Names, and Kinship Terms," in the "American Anthropologist," July-September, 1927, Vol. XXIX, No. 3, p. 316.)

judicial authority to settle disputes between family households within the clan, and to impose punishments, such as reproof and expulsion from the ancestral temple, and sometimes more drastic penalties.

Owing to the great importance of family relationships and the varying significance of relationship to older and younger relatives and through male and female ascendants, there are many more kinship terms in Chinese than in European languages. For example, there are five terms for uncle—namely, father's older brother, father's younger brother, husband of father's sister, mother's brother, and husband of mother's sister. The importance of the family is emphasized also by placing the family name before the personal name, in contrast to the European custom of placing the surname last.

It is obvious that everywhere and at all times the older is likely to be more influential than the younger generation, because of its superior knowledge and experience, and because it has a long start over the younger. The power of the ascendants over their descendants is greatly emphasized where the clan or family system prevails, especially if accompanied by ancestor worship. The patriarchal authority tends also to increase the power of the males over the females. Marriage is enjoined upon every one as a duty in order to perpetuate the family and to breed descendants to worship at the shrine of the venerated ancestors. Polygyny may be encouraged when the wife is childless by taking another wife or a concubine in order to secure offspring. Overpopulation may also result from the inordinate desire for children.

The present situation in China is clearly revealed by the existing legal status of the family and marriage. According to Chinese jurisprudence as reflected in the decisions of the supreme court, a man cannot share in the wealth of his family or set up a separate establishment without the consent of all of his surviving parents and grandparents. The consent of parents and grandparents is also required to invalidate a

marriage. More or less elaborate betrothal and marriage ceremonies are prescribed. The institution of concubinage or of having secondary wives is recognized by the law. In case of destitution the duty of support exists between father and son, grandfather and grandson, brothers, and husband and wife. The cult of the worship of the ancestors, and the inheritance of most of the family wealth, are transmitted through the male descendants.

Divorce may take place by mutual consent, but the draft of the new civil code provides that if the husband is under thirty or the wife under twenty-five, the consent of his or her parents, as the case may be, is also required. The seven ancient causes for the repudiation of a wife are still recognized—namely, childlessness, wanton conduct, neglect of duty toward her husband's parents, loquacity, thievishness, jealousy, a grave disease. Exceptions are made when the wife has mourned for three years for the parents of her husband, when her husband has risen from poverty to riches, and when the wife no longer has a family to which she can return. However, divorce is said to be not very common. Adultery on the part of the wife is probably the most frequent cause, because it is most fatal to the existence of the family.

Prior to its modernization, Japan was divided into 262 fiefs ruled by the daimyos or feudal lords, exclusive of the land belonging to the shogun. These feudal clans were unlike the Chinese greater-family or clan, which has at no time been feudal or military. Ancestor worship has not existed, except to the slight extent that it has been imitated from China. Shinto, as we have seen, is ancestor worship only to the extent of worshiping the sun goddess as the ancestress of the imperial family. The family as an institution has, nevertheless, been and is powerful. The authority of the father is great, and the family ideal is to have many children to honor their parents and work for them. This is doubtless the chief cause of overpopulation in Nippon.

Indian social organization is dominated by the caste sys-

tem, to be described in the following chapter. Within the barriers of caste the family plays a very important part. The greater-family or clan is not formally organized as in China. But households often contain several related families and generations. A joint family system is widespread which assumes responsibility for the welfare of every member. It may also encourage idleness on the part of the more indolent, and sometimes leads to family dissension.[2]

The home is a religious center in India to a greater degree than in any other country. Even the building of the house is governed by religious rules. The preparation of the food and much of the household work is often accompanied by a ritual. The morning and evening prayers are more or less obligatory and elaborate ceremonies required. Hindu religion, which embraces the whole of life and is strongly personal as well as domestic, makes of the home a veritable sanctuary. While the Chinese home contains a shrine to the ancestors, no one of the religions of China has the personal and all-pervasive character of Indian religion.

The influence of the woman in the Indian home is said to be very great. The same is probably true in China and in other Oriental countries. Whether or not it is greater than in the Occident, it is difficult to determine. Suffice it to say that her career is restricted to the home much more than that of her Western sister. Her devotion to her husband is also said to be very great. It was symbolized in the past by the practice of suttee (cremation of the widow on her husband's funeral pyre), and at present by the degradation of the widow.

Certain Western observers have commented on the unusual degree of intimacy of Indian home life.[3] Indians have some-

[2] An Indian social reformer says of the Hindu joint family that it "tends to cut at the root of all domestic affection, put a premium on idleness, weigh down personal exertion, encourage strife and jealousy, stifle notions of equity and justice, check self-assertion and individuality and promote an over-exuberant growth of reverence of authority." (M. R. Jayakar, in "The Social Reform Advocate," Madras, June 30, 1917.)

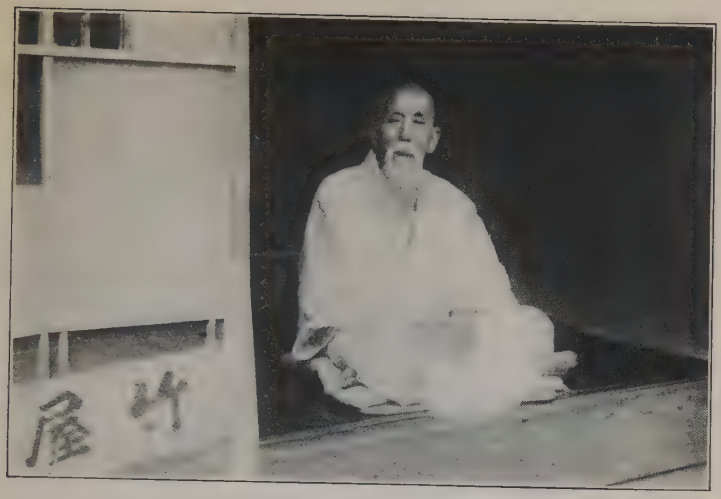
[3] See, for example, Sister Nivedita (Margaret E. Noble), "The Web of Indian Life," New York, 1904; J. P. Jones, "India: Its Life and Thought," New York,

times asserted that this is due to child marriage. The bond established very early in life, though not necessarily consummated physically until later, and the courtship which comes after marriage, if at all, may have something to do with it. Home life is unusually important in India, partly because there are comparatively few distractions outside of the home. As we shall see in a later chapter, recreation and a common social life are less organized than in the Occident. Several Western observers have asserted that Easterners are less individualized than Westerners. It is also asserted that there is greater difference in the Occident between the common herd and persons of ability—in other words, that there is more genius, and of a higher order, in the West than in the East. It is therefore assumed that the Orient is less advanced, its rate of progress less rapid, and its individual members more alike in character, that is to say, more homogeneous.[4]

The facts which have been cited concerning the Oriental family lend a good deal of plausibility to these assertions. The Easterner is forced by custom and public opinion, and sometimes by the law, to give more heed than in the West to the wishes of his family, and to be guided by its head long after adulthood is attained. He may be forced or coerced often to sacrifice his own interests to those of his family. He is more likely to have to enter an occupation in accordance with the traditions and status of his family. In the West there is greater freedom of choice, and several occupations are often represented in the same family. Even the right of women

1908. Miss Noble lived in northern India for several years, and Jones was an American missionary in southern India for many years.

[4] See, for example, Percival Lowell, "The Soul of the Far East," New York, 1888; Abel Bonnard, "In China, 1920-1921," London, 1926, translated from the French. Lowell thinks that Easterners are less individualized partly because of their belief in nirvana or extinction. We have seen that this belief is not universal in the Orient. He asserts that if Eastern races do not change, they will disappear completely before the advancing Western nations. Bonnard alleges that Asiatics are all woven of one piece. We have seen that Eastern peoples vary greatly among themselves. He is making the common error of travelers to whom all Chinamen look alike.



HOTEL KEEPER, BEPPU, JAPAN

POOR CHILDREN, TOBA, JAPAN

to careers of their own is becoming more and more recognized, and they are no longer regarded as animals for breeding purposes only. Under the Oriental family system there is a greater tendency for the individual career to be hampered by group interests, for the younger to be repressed by the older generation, and for women to be devoted exclusively to the rearing of children and the care of the home.

There is no reason to believe that there is less innate ability in the East than in the West. But its manifestation depends to a considerable extent upon the social environment. The relative freedom from family restrictions in the Occident, permitting greater differentiation of personality, furnishes more scope for the expression of ability and genius. The broader social life, especially in Western cities, also serves as a great stimulus. It is therefore not surprising that a survey of the past as well as of the present reveals a larger number of outstanding personalities in most fields of human effort. Individual initiative and leadership have on the whole been more characteristic of the Occident than of the Orient.

Every form of social organization has its characteristic ethical ideas and ideals. To say that one social system is more moral than another is futile and meaningless. Each is moral in the manner which is essential to its own maintenance, and usually somewhat more so. It has been asserted that Eastern civilization moralizes the individual more than Western civilization.[5] This may be true in the sense that group morality is intensified in the Orient so that the responsibility of the small group, such as the family or the clan, for its members is great, and the duties of the member toward his group are rigorous. On the other hand, in the Occident the law and justice for the individual are more developed. His obligations toward society as a whole also are often more clearly defined.

[5] For example, Sister Nivedita says that Eastern civilization has striven to moralize the individual, and Western civilization to use materials efficiently, and that Alexander is typical of the West and Buddha of the East. ("The Web of Indian Life.")

So that it is perhaps not inaccurate to say that, in contrast to the group morality of the East, there is a more socialized system of ethics in the broadest sense of the term in the West.

This brings us to the question as to the comparative degree of democracy in East and West. Of political democracy there is much more in the West, because the Orient has not yet outgrown the tradition of autocracy. But democracy is much more extensive than political organization alone. In its broadest sense it signifies equality of opportunity and freedom for every one. This has its economic and social as well as political aspects. In the Occident the economic organization is at present dominated by the capitalistic system. The means of production are owned in the main by the capitalists, and to them goes a large and wholly disproportionate share of the total income in the form of profits, interest, and rent. Upon this economic basis has developed a class organization in which the breach between the capitalist and the proletarian classes is ever becoming wider, and the disproportion in the distribution of wealth greater. Under such a system there is little equality of opportunity for the vast majority of the workers.

The application of many scientific discoveries along with and in part by capitalism has resulted in a large scale machine and factory method of production which has subordinated the individual worker to the position of a cog in the wheel. The bourgeois standard of morality regulates the conduct of the individual in many respects which are not of public and social concern, and often suppresses freedom of speech and of publication. So that while the Westerner has succeeded in freeing himself to a large extent from the narrow bonds of the group morality of the family and the clan and from the domination of the church, he has lost much of his freedom by becoming subjected to the crushing power of the capitalist state.

The proletarian class is organizing and is gaining more and more power in its fight against the capitalist class.

Whether or not domination by the proletariat will mean greater freedom for the individual it is impossible to foresee. It is too soon to judge from the experience of Russia. So far the soviet state has curtailed greatly the freedom of the individual, perhaps more so than under czarism. The Bolshevist leaders assert that this is a temporary condition which will persist only until the rule of the proletariat is firmly established. One of the crucial problems for mankind to solve in the future is how to carry on large collective enterprises with all the saving due to the use of machinery, specialization, and a detailed division of labor, without crippling the personality and destroying the happiness of the individual by means of unnecessary restrictions upon his freedom. It is the tendency of every social system to regulate its members more than is essential for its own survival. The mores or folkways carry along much obsolete baggage in the form of outworn ethical ideas and ideals which are useless and often harmful. This is especially true wherever institutionalized religion is influential, for it is always archaic in its outlook. It is therefore a hopeful sign for the future that such religion is declining in its power.[6]

The situation in the Orient with regard to economic and social democracy cannot be summed up in a word, for there are great variations. While crossing the Pacific in a Japanese vessel, it seemed to me that there was an unusual degree of camaraderie between the officers and men. The stateroom steward carried my luggage on to the dock at Yokohama. When I offered him a gratuity, he accepted it with a smile, and then shook hands with me. Everywhere I went in Japan

[6] Russell perhaps takes too hopeless a view in the following passage:

"There is one aspect of scientific civilization which I personally find painful, and that is the diminution in the value and independence of the individual. Great enterprises tend more and more to be collective, and in an industrialized world the interference of the community with the individual must be more intense than it need be in a commercial or agricultural régime. Although machinery makes man collectively more lordly in his attitude toward nature, it tends to make the individual man more submissive to his group." (Bertrand Russell, "The New Life That Is America's," in "The New York Times," May 22, 1927.)

I found the serving classes dignified and self-respecting. Never once did I see the cringing servility which is so prevalent in many countries. While these are indications of a wholesome self-respect which is characteristic of the Japanese people, they do not necessarily indicate a large amount of democracy.

With astonishing speed Japan has jumped almost without any transition from feudalism into capitalism. As it has comparatively little arable land, it could not become a great agricultural country. Consequently, its transformation has taken the form of the development of commerce and industry, especially the latter. Its cities are rapidly becoming forests of factory chimneys. In fact, I am inclined to think that with France and the United States, Japan is one of the three most capitalistic countries in the world. Its capitalism is of a rather paternalistic type, which is not surprising in view of the feudalistic background. In Osaka I visited large textile factories where the employees are bedded and boarded by their employers and subjected to a rigid discipline and routine. There is not much room for democracy in such a system. Politically also Japan is a long way from democracy. While there is a parliamentary system, the veneration for the emperor, which exceeds that shown toward any other ruling house of any importance, and the centralized and bureaucratic form of government, reduce greatly the power and influence of the Diet. As late as 1925 the elected chamber of the Diet was chosen by less than 3,000,000 voters, but recently the suffrage has been extended to more than 13,000,000.[7]

China has the reputation of being a very democratic country in its economic and social organization. The Chóu-li (*circa* 1100 B.C.), or ancient code, established the following order of precedence among the workers: 1. Farmers; 2. Gardeners; 3. Woodworkers; 4. Cattle-raisers; 5. Artisans; 6. Merchants; 7. Female textile-workers; 8. Servants; 9. Vaga-

[7] According to the Japan Year Book, 1927, those receiving poor relief are deprived of the ballot, thus leaving about 9,600,000 who can vote.

bonds. This indicates the high esteem in which agriculture was held, owing to the fact that China is primarily an agricultural country. I do not know to what extent this classification has influenced the relations of these groups toward each other, but it has apparently not created an agricultural aristocracy. It is said that the Chinese are in the habit of classifying themselves as scholars, farmers, workmen, and merchants. Certain it is that scholarship has a high place in the popular esteem. Honorific terms are said to be used which indicate fixed relations of graduated superiority.[8]

For more than two thousand years China has had no theocracy, aristocracy, or feudalism. While for most of that time it has been a monarchy or empire, the Central Government has never been very powerful, and there has been a large measure of local autonomy. Under the system of state examinations, any one could compete and work his way up to the highest official positions. In this sense the Government was democratic, though there was little representative and no parliamentary government until the establishment of the republic in 1912.

During these two thousand years and more the industrial life has been organized in the form of guilds. Every trade has a guild which includes both employers and employees. The guilds regulate prices, wages, and terms of apprenticeship, and are democratic in character. Competition is not adapted to the Chinese system of industry, and these guilds have furnished the necessary regulation without competition. The guilds can deal better with the Government than isolated employers and employees, and they administer justice to a certain extent. There are also chambers of commerce including many kinds of business. But the factory system which is gradually spreading is breaking down the guilds, because the interests of capitalists and of wage-earners are too divided

[8] See A. H. Smith, "Chinese Characteristics," New York, 1894, fifth edition. Smith says that these honorific terms serve as lubricating fluids to smooth human intercourse, and that rigidity of etiquette is not so evident among rustics.

to permit of so democratic a form of coöperation. So far as the employees are concerned, their place is being taken by labor unions.

A form of individualism often displayed in China is manifested in the absence of public spirit and in a lack of appreciation as to what is to the best interest of all concerned. A classic example is the condition of the roads. In many cases roads which are for public use pass over private property. The proprietors assume no responsibility for them, so that usually they are very bad, much to the discomfort of themselves and of all others who use them. Peddlers preëmpt positions in narrow streets where they obstruct the traffic and seriously inconvenience passers-by. In Peking I often passed through one of the principal streets where for a long distance the sidewalk was cluttered up with itinerant barbers, knife-grinders, and the like. The phase of such a situation which strikes a Westerner as most curious is not their indifference to the public interest but the meek tolerance of those who are inconvenienced. It is perhaps another indication that ethics are not as socialized in the East as in the West. The Chinese are naturally law-abiding and orderly. But they have as yet very little of the so-called "social" legislation which is common in the West. Needless to say, this sort of individualism does not in the long run promote the freedom and welfare of the individual, because all the individuals who constitute the community suffer from it. But it may indicate a certain sturdy independence on the part of the individual which has persisted despite the domination of the family.

The preceding discussion indicates that it is well-nigh impossible to give a categorical answer to most of the questions which have been raised, so imponderable are many of the factors involved. The family is much more powerful in the Orient. It hampers the career of the individual by limiting the choice of occupation and of spouse, by restricting freedom of movement, and by accentuating paternal authority.

It also stands in the way of a broader social life. In the West the individual usually belongs to several social and cultural circles, and the women share this life with the men. The seclusion in the home of the Oriental woman cuts her off almost entirely from this broader social life. The predominant position of the family as the central unit of society narrows the outlook of the man, so that he is less likely to be interested in political, national, and world affairs. There are fewer cultural organizations to which he can belong.

On the other hand, Occidental life creates many petty social duties, and arouses new wants which incite the individual to struggle and strive in a manner which may or may not be worth while. At any rate, it creates a form of slavery of its own. While the West often professes to be democratic, we have seen that its democracy is in certain respects narrowly limited. The East makes fewer professions of this sort. But it has a good deal of freedom in the sense that if the fundamental interests of the family are conserved, and sometimes of religion, and certain external formalities are observed, the individual is usually left free to do as he pleases without suffering from the social and moral opprobrium often wreaked upon his head in the Occident for conduct which is not of public concern.[9]

Oriental life is exempt from many of the worries of the Westerner due to a more complicated social life. It has even a certain equality in inequality which promotes human intercourse to a degree which is almost democratic. For example, the Indian caste system is fundamentally undemocratic in that it denies equality of opportunity, and is evil in many other respects. But it fixes the social status of the individual

[9] "In the ethics of the West everything is direction, claim to power, will to affect the distant. . . . But it was not so in the Classical, or in India, or in China. Buddha, for instance, gives a pattern to take or to leave, and Epicurus offers counsel. Both undeniably are forms of high morale, and neither contains the will-element." (O. Spengler, "The Decline of the West, Form and Actuality," New York, 1926, translated from the German, p. 341.)

for life, so that he need never devote thought or effort to trying to better it. Moreover, it determines the relations not only of members of the same caste but of different castes, so that these relations can go on with an assurance which is not always present in the Occident.

Chapter VII

INDIAN CASTE AND WESTERN CLASS

In Bombay I was conversing with India's most famous woman, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, poetess, publicist, and in 1926 president of the National Congress, the highest honor to which an Indian can attain. Born of Brahman parentage, she committed the unpardonable sin against Hindu orthodoxy of marrying a man of a lower caste. We were speaking of the best-known leader of the orthodox Hindus. Pointing to the glasses on the table in front of us, she said: "If your shadow should fall on his glass of water, Panditji would not drink of it."

A Westerner is not likely to be disturbed by the contempt shown by the proud Brahman toward the *mleccha* (foreigner). But the discriminations between the different castes, and especially against the outcastes, are of fateful significance for the vast majority of the inhabitants of that caste-ridden country. Nettled by the numerous criticisms which they hear, Hindus who visit the Occident usually assert that caste exists everywhere. Many of them are Brahmans who have violated the ancient prohibition against leaving India and crossing the water. The Brahmans are the principal, I might almost say the only, beneficiaries of the caste system. Hence it is to their interest to find analogies of their special privileges elsewhere. But nothing like the Indian system prevails in any other part of the world, and there is no evidence that anything closely resembling it has ever prevailed at any other time or place. While isolated features of the Indian system have existed and do still exist here and there, this astounding

social classification is and, it is to be hoped, always will be unique.

A caste system is a hereditary classification according to special functions, the castes being hierarchically arranged with unequal powers, rights, and privileges. The Indian system was, and still is in theory, fourfold. The castes are the Brahmans or priests, the Kshatriyas or warriors and administrators, the Vaishyas or merchants, and the Shudras or servitors and manual laborers. Each of these castes is supposed to inherit the traits which peculiarly fit it for its functions.[1] A Benares pundit said to me that the Shudras are uneducable, and therefore fitted only for menial labor under the direction of the upper castes. Democracy he stigmatized as mobocracy. The Brahman editor of a social-reform journal in Bombay, borrowing a leaf from Western science, attempted to defend the caste system on eugenic grounds. Mr. Gandhi, though himself a Vaishya, is a devout Hindu, and averred to me that the caste system had a good origin, has a biological basis, and should therefore be perpetuated, though it should be purified of certain evils. This again was an *argumentum ad hominem*, because addressed to a Western scientist.

A caste system is a form of occupational division of labor. In a primitive or comparatively simple society it may serve this purpose fairly well. Before an educational system has developed, the most feasible method of transmitting professional knowledge may be from father to son, so that a hereditary specialization of occupations is a natural result. But as knowledge accumulates, new methods of doing things are invented, and the range of information within each occupa-

[1] The Bhagavad-Gita, in the eighteenth discourse, describes these traits as follows: "Of Brahmins, Kshatriyas, Vaishyas and Shudras, O Parantapa, the duties have been distributed, according to the qualities born of their own natures. Serenity, self-restraint, austerity, purity, forgiveness and also uprightness, wisdom, knowledge, belief in God, are the Brahmin duty, born of his own nature. Prowess, splendor, firmness, dexterity, and also not flying from battle, generosity, the nature of a ruler, are the Kshatriya duty, born of his own nature. Ploughing, protection of kine, and trade are the Vaishya duty, born of his own nature. Action of the nature of service is the Shudra duty, born of his own nature."

tion becomes extensive, the situation becomes too complicated to be effectively handled by a caste system. This is particularly true with regard to the extremely technical methods of modern industry which have resulted from the development of science. They call for a minute differentiation of functions, and also for a high degree of flexibility to meet changes due to scientific discoveries and inventions. In the face of such demands a hereditary classification breaks down hopelessly, because it can change only slowly and in the course of generations. The same is true of commerce, government, and various cultural pursuits.

There is no reason to believe that there is a hereditary transmission of special abilities to correspond to the classification of occupations. There has always been some confusion of functions. Since the beginning of British rule this confusion has become very great. A Tamil Brahman spent an evening trying to convince me of the excellence of the caste system, and yet he devotes himself to speculating successfully on the stock exchange. On the other hand, Shudras also have attained great success in commerce and other activities for which they are not supposed to be fitted. This is in accordance with biological knowledge which indicates that special abilities of all kinds may appear in any social class. As the ancestors of the present castes were not selected for their special abilities, it is doubtful if there is even a slight preponderance of unusual fitness in each caste.

There is also little or no evidence of a racial classification. The Hindu name for caste is *varna,* which means color.[2] The favorite theory of the Brahmans is that they are the descendants of the superior "Aryan" conquerors of northern India. A Brahman who teaches physical anthropology in the Uni-

[2] A Sanskrit scholar suggests that this name may have come from the garb: "Varna, once a common name for all classes, perhaps taken from the color of the garments that differed with different classes, as, for example, white for the Brahmins, red for the Kshatriyas, yellow for the Vaishyas, and black for the Shudras, came to mean a caste in post-Buddhistic literature." (R. Shama Sastri, "The Evolution of Castes," Mysore, 1916.)

versity of Calcutta told me with obvious satisfaction that he was taking anthropometric measurements which show that the Brahmans are lighter-colored than the population at large. Another Brahman member of the university faculty averred that a lighter color indicates a higher race, and was much astonished when I questioned this statement. In southern India I saw many dark-skinned Brahmans. If on the average for all of India they have a lighter color, it is probably due in part to the fact that they usually follow indoor occupations where they are not subjected to the darkening effect of the sun. Owing to their higher literacy, they are employed in many governmental and commercial positions.

Endogamy was widespread in the earlier stages of social evolution. Clans were sometimes endogamous. More often they were exogamous within endogamous tribes. Such restrictions may have been necessary to preserve the tribal organization. With the evolution of the nation and the state, endogamy has disappeared almost entirely, being retained only by such archaic institutions as monarchy and hereditary aristocracy to protect their special privileges. Endogamy has also existed for the preservation of racial purity, so called, and is still used for this purpose to a certain extent. Even if there was originally a racial basis for the caste system, it was never very extensive, and the correlation between race and caste has long since disappeared. As the Brahmanic religion, that is to say, religion of Brahma, spread over the Indian peninsula, many primitive tribes were incorporated in the caste system, either as new castes or sub-castes or as parts of existing castes. Thus even the Brahman caste has received many infusions which have destroyed whatever racial homogeneity it may once have possessed.

The ban upon intermarriage has led to or has been accompanied by other restrictions upon intercourse between the castes. Interdining is forbidden between the Brahmans and the lower castes, and to a certain extent among the other castes. There are over fifty million outcastes who have for

one reason or another lost their caste status or have never acquired such a status. Between these outcastes and the castes there exists "untouchability," which varies greatly in degree in different parts of India. Thus the Indian system not only divides the castes from each other and from the outcastes, but establishes a high degree of repulsion between these groups. This division and repulsion are effected by means of occupational, connubial, commensal, and contactual restrictions on a wider scale and to a greater degree than in any other social system which has ever existed.

All of these restrictions were more or less common among primitive peoples. The repast has often been regarded as establishing a peculiar and intimate bond, perhaps because of the connection between nourishment and life. Consequently, it was not to be shared by persons of a different social status. The idea of pollution was implicit in many forms of taboo, and led to contactual restrictions between persons standing in certain relationships to each other. It is not easy to explain why such restrictions not only persisted or were revived but also were expanded in India long after they had almost entirely disappeared among every other people which had attained civilization.

The Hindus allege that their caste system is Vedic in origin. This implies that it is also "Aryan," because the Vedas are supposed to belong to this culture. There is, however, no trace of the caste system elsewhere wherever the so-called "Aryan" culture is supposed to have prevailed, as in Iran and in Europe. Moreover, the Vedas do not describe a fully developed system. In the Rig Veda there is only one vague reference to four functional groups.[3] There was a priestly class, but apparently it was not endogamous. It may have acquired its hereditary monopoly by clinging jealously to its functions of performing the sacred offices to the gods and of repeating the mantras or charms by which the deities are supposed to

[3] "His mouth became the Brahmin, his arms became the Kshatriya, his thighs are the Vaishya, the Shudra was produced from his feet." (Rig Veda, X, 90. 12.)

be influenced. The other castes also appear not to have been clearly distinguished in Vedic times—namely, down to perhaps as late as 500 B.C.

It has been suggested that the caste system attained its full-fledged form after and to a certain extent as a result of the advent of Buddhism and Jainism. Buddhism has always been opposed to caste, and Jainism was also opposed during its early stages. Both of these religions condemned flesh-eating and advocated a strict vegetarianism, because they were strongly influenced by the doctrine of transmigration which preaches a close kinship between the human and animal worlds. The Brahmans were severely criticized for eating flesh and also for the polygamy which they practised to a considerable extent. In the course of their long struggle for the ascendancy they gradually gave up the eating of meat and relinquished most of their polygamous rights as concessions to the new reforming religions. But vegetarianism increased the rift between them and the other castes which still ate flesh, thus reinforcing the ban against intermarriage and interdining. If this theory is correct, the new religions were successful in extending zoöphilism, but indirectly and unintentionally strengthened the caste system.[4] Partly for this reason Buddhism was eventually driven from the land of its founder, and Jainism succumbed in large part by accepting the caste system and many other features of Brahmanic religion.

It has also been suggested that the caste system was in part Dravidian in its origin. This is contrary to the favorite Indian theory that "Aryan" culture and the Vedic religion

[4] The following is a rather extreme statement of this theory: "Though Buddhism did not preach caste, it vehemently denounced certain customs, the disappearance of which brought about caste into existence. It denounced flesh-eating and plurality of wives and denied Nirvana to those who were addicted to animal sacrifices, flesh-eating and sexual indulgence. The Brahmins gave up those two condemned customs and, as a result, formed themselves into castes mainly with the intention of keeping up their dietary and marriage rules. The other classes, too, followed them and formed separate castes." (R. Shama Sastri, *op. cit.*)

carried the caste system to southern India. As has been pointed out, the caste system incorporates some very primitive features, and it is possible that these features persisted in southern India and were there developed into the caste system. The historical record for the Dravidian culture is even more scanty than for the Vedic culture, so that there are comparatively few data available for the study of the origin and evolution of the caste system.[5] Suffice it to say that this system has displayed itself in its most aggravated form in southern India. This may have been due to the fact that it was the place of its origin. Or it may have been due to the zeal of certain converts to Brahmanism, or to oppression on the part of conquerors from the north.[6]

Whatever may have been the origin of the Indian caste system, its peculiar and outstanding feature is its religious character. The castes are, or were originally, trade guilds. In other parts of the world guilds have no religious aspect. The Indian

[5] Dr. Slater, who lived in Madras from 1915 to 1922, has made a small beginning in studying the influence of Dravidian culture. He is inclined to think that it was democratic and therefore probably not dominated by a caste system. "The land where a student needs little food, only a shred of clothing, and no artificially warmed rooms, the land peculiarly of subtle philosophy, seems a suitable home for a peculiarly democratic culture marked by cheap and simple living and high thinking." (Gilbert Slater, "The Dravidian Element in Indian Culture," London, 1924, p. 181.)

[6] Of interest in this connection is the following quotation from an address to the viceroy and secretary of state for India in 1917 from the Audi Dravida Jana Sabha of Madras, representing three million Audi Dravidans who claim to be descendants of the original Dravidians and who are now outcastes: "Our community represents the earliest civilization of Southern India. There is ample evidence to show that before the Aryans came down from Northern India the people of the South had social and political institutions of their own, upon which the Aryans sought to impose their civilization. We are the descendants of those who resisted the attempt, which however proved largely successful; and for having stood aloof from the system of the Aryan foreigners, we were punished with social degradation. The caste system of the Hindus stigmatises us as untouchables and imposes various social and economic disabilities upon us."

This address requests that these "untouchables" be admitted to the schools from which they are barred, be permitted to use the public roads and public wells, be employed more largely in the public administration, and be given a proper representation in the public bodies.

system apparently started with the sacerdotal class, which was able to impress a religious character upon the whole system. The doctrine of transmigration has aided this process by justifying the inequalities of castes as penalties and rewards for conduct in previous existences. Unless this doctrine be true, this is grossly unjust to the unfortunate victims of this system.

As might be expected where a socio-religious organization has prevailed, political and juridical evolution in India has been very backward. While in some countries the state was at first theocratic and the king was also the chief priest, the development of the state has been almost consistently in the direction of secularization. With the growth of the nation has developed the concept of a common citizenship with equal rights and privileges for all citizens. This has been reflected in the evolution of law. In its early stages jurisprudence was largely punitive in its character. In all politically advanced countries it is now largely civil and is intended to safeguard the rights of citizens in their relations toward each other and the state.

From time to time powerful Indian states have been established, usually by strong leaders. No one of these states has survived, and for long periods a large part of the peninsula has been under foreign domination. The native rulers have usually been Kshatriyas, but sometimes Vaishyas and even Shudras. In only occasional instances, as in the case of the Peshwas of the Mahratta region, have they been Brahmans. This is not surprising among a people whose whole culture is deeply permeated with religion, and whose social organization is characterized by gross inequalities between the different castes. Through it all the Brahmans have retained their ascendancy, though they were not the political and economic leaders. This situation is reflected in Indian law, which has remained largely punitive. In the so-called Laws of Manu, a code formulated between 200 B.C. and A.D. 200, which still serves as a guide to the Hindus, most of the provisions are

QUARTER OF UNTOUCHABLES, DELHI, INDIA

VILLAGE NEAR DELHI—UNTOUCHABLES

explicitly or implicitly repressive. There is little suggestion of restitution. Torts or private wrongs are not distinguished from crimes or public wrongs, which in Indian law are violations against religion. In Occidental jurisprudence, on the contrary, torts far exceed crimes in number, and civil law has attained a high degree of development in comparison with criminal law, whose scope has in some respects been limited rather than expanded.[7]

Hindu religion has also had a disastrous effect upon the development of science, literature, and art. While the Brahmans are supposed to specialize in scholarly pursuits, they have usually devoted themselves to learning the sacred scriptures by rote in order to be able to perform their sacerdotal functions. Such an intensive training in memorizing is not conducive to original and creative thought. So that the advantages which might otherwise have been derived from a specialized class of scholars have been lost. Furthermore, the caste system has discouraged, indeed has well-nigh prohibited, the other castes from following these pursuits, so that a large part of the native talent has been wasted.

While the origin and past history of the caste system may seem to be of only academic significance, its present status is of vast importance for India and for its relations with the rest of the world. According to the census of 1921, the population of India, excluding Burma, was about 306,000,000. Of these 217,000,000 were Hindus, who were divided as follows: Brahmans, 14,000,000; non-Brahman castes, 143,500,000; outcastes, 53,000,000; recently Hinduized tribes, 6,500,000. The census recognizes only the first of the four traditional castes. The lines of demarcation between the other three

[7] Professor Bouglé has given an excellent description of the injurious effect of the caste system upon political and juridical as well as upon economic and cultural development. He summarizes his discussion as follows: "En résumé, penetré de religion et attaché à l'inégalité, moins preoccupé de réparer que de punir, et de punir de la façon la plus dure, tel nous paraît, à travers les codes classiques, le droit hindou." (C. Bouglé, "Essais sur le régime des castes," Paris, 1908, pp. 166-7.)

have become so vague that it is often difficult to determine whether an existing caste or sub-caste is Kshatriya, Vaishya, or Shudra. Even the distinction between caste and outcaste sometimes becomes vague, for the outcastes have formed castes among themselves, and the degree of their untouchability varies. The census enumerates several thousand castes and mutually exclusive sub-castes. There were fifty-four Hindu castes numbering more than a million each, six of which were over five millions each.[8] The best way to illustrate graphically this bewildering situation is to describe briefly a few of these castes.

Not even the fourteen million Brahmans form a unified caste. Geographically they are divided into the Gouda group north of the Vindhya mountain range and the Dravida group south of that range. Each of these groups contains five subgroups. Each of these is in turn divided into numerous subcastes. These sub-castes vary greatly in matters of food, dress, decoration, marriage, religious beliefs, etc. But they all possess the right to repeat the Vedas. The two other "twice-born" castes formerly shared this right, but have lost it through neglect and now employ Brahmans as priests. Brahmans usually marry early and prohibit the marriage of widows, whose heads must be shaved as a mark of degradation. Bridegrooms are usually purchased and sometimes brides also. The marriage rites vary greatly and some of them are of considerable anthropological interest. While most Brahmans are strict vegetarians and will eat with no other caste, a few sub-castes do not observe either of these rules strictly.

The Khatri is a Kshatriya caste which numbers about 600,000 in the Punjab and United Provinces, but they are more commercial than martial to-day. Many village bankers are Khatris and most of the trade with Afghanistan is in their hands. They practise infant marriage like the Brahmans and are said to oppose the marriage of widows.

[8] These castes were Brahman, 14,254,991; Chamar, 11,224,557; Rajput, 9,772,918; Ahir, 9.032,861; Jat, 7,374,817; Maratha, 6,566,334.

The Baniya is a Vaishya caste numbering one and a quarter million, distributed in most parts of India. They are traders and money-lenders, and are divided into a hundred or more sub-castes which are usually endogamous. They wear the sacred thread of the twice-born and are strict vegetarians. The higher sub-castes will usually take food cooked without water from each other. Some of them belong to the Jain sect.

The Kurmi is a cultivating caste in northern India and the Central Provinces, numbering more than three and a half millions. It contains numerous sub-castes with varying customs. Some of them grow special crops, and among them are to be found iron-workers, salt makers, catechu makers, etc. Some abstain from meat and liquor and others do not. Both infant and adult marriages are practised, and divorce and the marriage of widows are permitted.

The Barhai is a carpenter caste of more than a million in Bihar, the United Provinces, and the Central Provinces. It contains several sub-castes of varying rank. Hypergamy is common among them, which renders it difficult to find husbands. Marriages are arranged and celebrated as early as three to five years of age. A widow is permitted to marry her deceased husband's brother or, with the permission of the *panchayat* (caste council), a man outside of the caste.

The Holeyas number more than seven millions in southern India. They are apparently, in part at least, the descendants of slaves and serfs, and are outcastes and untouchable.[9] They were formerly the guardians of the cremation ground and entitled to a fee for every death and also to the skins of dead cattle. They have sub-castes, some of which claim to be superior to the others, and also several exogamous septs. The marriage of widows is discouraged, but the concubinage of a widow is permitted. Owing to the cultivation of coffee

[9] "Such of the Holeyas as are not still considered as farm slaves or Mulada Holeyas [hereditary serfs] come as a rule under the designation of Salada Holeya, or a Holeya who is bound to his master by a debt. Slavery, of course, is legally abolished, but custom dies hard." (Manual of the South Kanara or Mangalore District, Vol. I, p. 198.)

in the state of Mysore, Holeyas have become landowners and some of them have acquired considerable wealth and freedom.

The Bhangi number over 750,000 in Bombay, the United Provinces, and Rajputana. They are sweepers and scavengers and among the lowest of the outcastes, though not quite so low as the Dheds and the Doms, and consequently assert their superiority over the latter castes. There are numerous sub-castes, some of which are Moslem, presumably the descendants of converts to Islam who carried their caste traditions and customs into their newly acquired religion. Both the Hindu and Moslem Bhangis are excluded from temples and mosques alike in Benares. Some of the sub-castes worship both Hindu gods and Moslem saints. The Hindu sub-castes accept uncooked food from each other's hands, but not cooked food in the United Provinces. A price is usually paid for a bride. A Brahman will not officiate for these untouchables, but they imitate the marriage rites of the upper castes.

The Lingayat sect, founded in the twelfth century, was originally a reform movement against Hinduism, but has reverted to the caste system. The Lingayats number about three millions in Bombay, Hyderabad, Mysore, and Madras. They are so called because a lingam is worn around the neck. They venerate the Vedas and worship Shiva but not Brahma and Vishnu. They are divided into three main groups with numerous sub-castes. The highest caste includes the priests and traders who interdine and intermarry to a certain extent. The second caste includes agriculturists, weavers, dyers, bricklayers, shepherds, etc., who do not interdine or intermarry. The lowest caste includes tanners, washermen, shoemakers, fishermen, and other unclean outcastes of the Hindu community. The Lingayats are mostly vegetarians. They practise infant as well as adult marriage, and permit divorce and the marriage of widows.

This description, despite its brevity, is sufficient to indicate the grotesque and often incongruous medley of customs and institutions which Hindu religion and its caste system

have imposed upon more than two hundred millions of human beings. Here we find hereditary monopoly of occupations, infant marriage, the enforced celibacy of widows (some of whom are widowed in infancy or early childhood), the niyoga or levirate (marriage by a widow of her deceased husband's brother), concubinage, endogamous castes, exogamous subcastes within endogamous castes resembling exogamous clans within endogamous tribes, interdiction upon commensality, hierophantic vegetarianism, and all kinds and degrees of ritualistic pollution, untouchability, and uncleanness.

In Delhi I was taken by British officials to see imperial Delhi which is rising on the outskirts of the present city. Here are magnificent buildings to house the government of India, a palatial residence for the viceroy, long rows of comfortable dwellings for the officials, and the palaces of native potentates who are vying with each other in their luxurious wastefulness, for which their unfortunate subjects have to pay. Then I was taken by Hindu social reformers to visit the quarters of the untouchables in the native city. Here I witnessed misery which surpassed anything I have seen in the slums of London and New York, Paris and Berlin, or in the squalor of overcrowded Chinese cities. These wretched folk are in large part tanners and leather-workers, and are therefore stigmatized as unclean by the religion of the "sacred cow." In the penetrating chill of a wintry evening they were wearing only a few filthy rags. Their hovels were almost bare of furniture and utensils. As there are no sanitary provisions whatsoever, the narrow streets serve the purposes of sewer, cesspool and privy. As the caste Hindus will not permit them to "pollute" their water by drawing from their wells, several thousands of untouchables are restricted to the use of one well. In other cities and in villages of these depressed classes in various parts of India I saw similar sights.

While I was in southern India a case was tried in the courts of the Madras Presidency of a *panchama* or outcaste who had passed through a public thoroughfare within "polluting" dis-

tance of a temple. This distance varies for the different classes of outcastes. In this instance it was six kols or about sixteen feet. The complaint averred that the accused had "thereby defiled the temple and wounded the religious feelings of the complainant and other Brahman residents of the Agraharam. The Brahmans had to do *samprokshana* [purificatory ceremonies] and only thereafter the evening *poojah* [prayer] was gone through." I did not learn the outcome of this case. In a similar case in a neighboring city and at about the same time the accused was fined seventy-five rupees or one month's rigorous imprisonment.

The Government of India has tried to adjust itself to local conditions by recognizing and enforcing many of these traditions and customs in its legal codes. For example, the Indian penal code makes it an offense to impute to a person a lower caste status than the one to which he belongs. The Brahmans have claimed that early marriage is essential in order to preserve the purity of their blood by preventing pollution. Consequently, the law made post-puberty marriages for girls with Brahmans and intercaste marriages, except where a Brahman is permitted to marry below his caste, illegal. This has proved to be a serious obstacle to Hindu social reformers who have been trying to abolish infant marriages and to make intercaste marriages permissible. Whether or not they have yet succeeded in changing this law I do not know. This situation illustrates the difficulties caused by the impact of Western upon Indian civilization.

Many attempts have been made to reform the caste system. I have already mentioned Buddhism, Jainism, and the Lingayat sect, and there have been other sects which have revolted against caste. But Buddhism was driven from India. Jainism and the Lingayat sect have reverted to caste and have in most respects become absorbed again in Hinduism, and this has been the fate of most of these sects. The Sikh sect, founded in the sixteenth century, is perhaps the only one which has survived.

During the past century these attempts have become more numerous, for several reasons. Foreign and especially Occidental ideas and ideals have been acquiring more and more influence. The missionary zeal of Islam and to a less extent of Christianity has been threatening Brahmanism. Foreign rule has changed the mode of life in certain respects which are incompatible with the caste system. The Nationalist movement has been spreading the idea of national unity which is to a certain extent opposed to the lack of unity of the caste system.

The Brahmo Samaj is a theistic sect founded about a century ago under Western influence. It numbers only a few thousands of adherents, but contains many prominent and influential members. It has been active in social reform including the reform of the caste system.

The Arya Samaj, organized more than half a century ago, advocates returning to the original Vedic religion as interpreted by its own leaders. It is actively proselytizing for converts, especially among the outcastes. According to the census of 1921, it had 468,000 members, and its leading representatives have informed me that its membership is rapidly increasing. Among its objects are the abolition of untouchability and infant marriage, and a caste system in which merit will to a certain extent be recognized so that it will be possible to pass from one caste to another. It is trying to counteract the influence of Moslem and Christian missionary activities. Unlike orthodox Hinduism, it proselytizes among non-Hindus as well as among Hindus.

The Ram Krishna Mission maintains several matts or monastic institutions whose inmates are engaged in social work as well as in a life of contemplation. It was founded as a result of the inspiration of Ram Krishna Parahamsa, a Hindu saint who died about forty years ago. He advocated a sort of eclectic religion which would incorporate all religions. His principal disciple, Swami Vivekananda, tried to propagate this religion in the Occident as well as in India.

While not actively opposed to the caste system, the representatives of this mission whom I have met seemed to assume a lukewarm attitude toward it.

Some of the orthodox leaders, alarmed at the inroads Islam is making upon Hinduism, have in recent years established so-called *mahasabhas* (great meetings). In Bombay I attended a *mahasabha* at which many of the Nationalist leaders were present. It was avowedly not opposed to Islam, but most of the speeches revealed an intense feeling against the Moslems. While strongly advocating a caste system, these orthodox leaders have been reluctantly forced to recognize that the condition of the untouchables must be ameliorated and certain other reforms effected.[10] Otherwise the untouchables will continue to embrace Islam just as the Roman slaves turned to Christianity. Thus reform is being forced upon these reactionary leaders by pressure from outside.

In 1916 was established in Madras the Non-Brahman Confederation, an organization of the other castes against the Brahmans, who are particularly domineering in southern India.[11] One of its three founders has told me that it was originally inspired by ideas of social reform, a democratic spirit, and communal discontent. Unfortunately, caste distinctions continued to be recognized within this anti-Brah-

[10] One of the published aims of the *mahasabha* movement reads as follows: "To ameliorate and improve the condition of all classes of the Hindu community, including the so-called depressed classes." The outcastes are often called the depressed classes.

[11] At the ninth session of the Non-Brahman Confederation in 1925 the President spoke of the southern Brahmans as follows: "Compared to the haughtiness of the Brahmans of the South, the conduct of their brothers of the North is almost angelic. The Brahman of the South is unapproachable in his undue assumption of superiority. In the North the Brahman literally follows the precepts of the Smritis in the matter of food and drink. He takes food cooked or fried in ghee or oil by a Shudra, and takes water from a non-Brahman, as he says that water is purified by coming into contact with air. These precepts about food and water are completely disregarded by the Brahman of the South, who refuses to take food cooked by himself, if it be simply looked at by a non-Brahman."

Even if allowance be made for non-Brahman prejudice, this is a severe and probably justifiable indictment of the southern Brahman.

STUDENTS OF GURUKUL OF ARYA SAMAJ, 12 MILES FROM DELHI, INDIA

man movement, so that it is only to a limited extent a movement for the reform of the caste system. It is spreading to other parts of India, and is beginning to take part in political activities, largely for the purpose of securing more governmental positions for non-Brahmans.

Various social-reform organizations, such as the Servants of India, are also working for the reform of the caste system. But no one of the organizations which have been mentioned is working for its abolition. In fact, I know of no root-and-branch movement against caste. So deeply imbued with the idea of caste becomes the Hindu mind through its early impressions of this all-enfolding system that it can never shake it off entirely. Converts to Islam and Christianity usually carry their caste prejudices with them. Even the best educated and most cultured of the Hindus, and those who are to a large extent under Western influence, with very few exceptions, advocate a caste system in its essential features.

In Delhi I was sitting in the office of Maulana Mohammed Ali, one of the principal Moslem Nationalist leaders. When the hour for prayer came, he excused himself and repeated his evening orisons in an adjoining room. Then he related to me that on the previous day he had arrived late at the Jami Masjid (great mosque) and had found himself bowing to the ground at the feet of a coolie. "This," said he, "illustrates the democratic character of Islam as contrasted with the Hindu caste system." But the census of India recognizes many Moslem castes. According to the census of 1921, the Saiyids, who profess to be descendants of the Prophet, numbered 1,601,000, the Pathans 3,547,000, and the Sheiks 33,387,000. These are among the hereditary aristocrats of the Mohammedan community, whose total in 1921 was 68,735,000. Consequently, they are inclined to look down upon the numerous outcastes who embrace Islam. These unfortunates also find it impossible thereby to free themselves entirely from the discriminations, though their social status is usually somewhat improved, because their Hindu high-caste neighbors continue

to regard them as outcastes. In the Christian churches the high-caste converts often demand that they be seated separately from their low-caste brethren. Thus do Hindu ideas of "pollution" corrupt the neighboring religions, and the priestly cunning, social arrogance, and economic greed which are the natural and inevitable fruits of the caste system extend their evil influence into every community.

I was driving from Sarnath to Benares in a tonga (one-horse carriage), when a young chap on a bicycle ranged alongside. With the friendly eagerness which lends a peculiar charm to the Indian character, he told me of his courses in the Benares Hindu University, where he was a student. When I inquired to which caste he belonged, he drew himself up proudly and replied, "I am a Brahman," and then ardently defended the special hereditary privileges of his caste. It is as difficult for the Brahman as for the scion of a royal family to recognize his common humanity with mankind. At this university I was shown the separate dormitories and cooking arrangements for the different castes. They illustrated the proverbial Indian sayings: "For three Kanouj Brahmans thirty fires are needed." "For a dozen Rajputs thirteen kitchens are necessary."

The economic wastefulness of the ban upon interdining is obvious, to say nothing of the far more serious humanitarian objection to it. The ritualistic differences in diet constitute an obstacle to interdining, but it is far from being insuperable. In southern India I dined several times with the Brahman principal of a government college, who ate his own specially prepared food. Though educated in England, he told me that he had never tasted meat and could not overcome his disgust at the thought of it. He reminded me of a German friend who is a rabid vegetarian and who always refers to meat-eaters as "*Leichen-fresser*" (devourers of corpses). But the German arrived at his vegetarianism as the result of experimentation and a study of dietetic principles, whereas with the Brahman it is primarily a matter of tradi-

tion and religious superstition. If there are any dietetic considerations with him, they come as an afterthought.

In addition to advocating the abolition of pariahism and its accompanying untouchability, and of infant marriages, and the removal of the bans on interdining and the marriage of widows, the farthest that the Hindu reformers go is to hold up Brahmanism as an ideal to be attained by any one. Some such idea was expressed by Mahatma Gandhi in 1925 in his weekly journal "Young India," in which he wrote as follows: "The Brahmin is the finest flower of Hinduism and of humanity. I will do nothing to wither it. . . . Brahmins are born, not so Brahminism. It is a quality open to be cultivated by the lowliest or the lowest amongst us."

Neither Mr. Gandhi nor any other reformer tells us specifically and in unequivocal and intelligible terms what Brahmanism is and who is to decide what persons have met its requirements. A Benares pundit talked to me vaguely of a caste system with a rajah at its head. If the hereditary basis were entirely abolished, it would no longer be a caste system but an occupational classification which would have no particular significance. But so deeply rooted is the hereditary principle in Hindu religion, and so powerful is the hold of this religion upon the minds of its adherents, that they cannot yet contemplate a non-hereditary social organization.[12]

[12] A recent statement of the Hindu point of view by an organization which claims to be "the All-India representative body of Hindus" reads as follows:

"The Hindus are heirs to a civilization which is not only the most ancient in the world, but is also the only one in which *Dharma* [religion and spiritual goal] has been made the supreme concern of life. The holy and inspired founders of our social structure laid down, for the individual, a life of ceaseless progressive effort towards spiritual development through the four stages of life, that is, Brahmacharya, Grihastha, Banprastha and Sanyas. . . . The most honored place in the social hierarchy they allotted to the Brahmin whose life should be wholly consecrated to the acquirement of knowledge aiming at the temporal and spiritual good of humanity. And to ensure undisturbed order and harmony in society, and a feeling of peace and content in the different grades of people forming the society, they ordained the system of Varna Dharma, each craft and calling to be hereditary." ("Sri Bharat Dharma Mahamandal: Its Objects, Rules, Activities, etc.," Benares, 1925.)

We have seen that the caste system is undemocratic because it denies equality of opportunity. It degrades manual labor by humiliating the laborer. Consequently, it is inimical to the free and full development of the individual and of the best type of individualism. On the other hand, it hampers the evolution of a larger social unity by standing in the way of the political and juridical development of the state and the nation, and by suppressing a broad humanitarian point of view. Hinduism, of which it is an integral part, is itself not a world religion which contemplates the inclusion of the whole of mankind. Can anything be said in its favor? This question can best be answered by comparing the Indian caste with the Western class system.

The Western class system is primarily economic.[13] The three main classes are the capitalist, the middle or bourgeois, and the proletarian. The lines of demarcation are somewhat vague, and an individual may belong to more than one class at the same time. Theoretically, at any rate, there is freedom of movement from one class to another, though in practice it is impossible for the vast majority of proletarians to raise themselves to the economically higher classes. In another work I have described at length the economic organization upon which this class system is based. The following passages are quoted from this description:

The most striking feature of the existing economic organization of society is that under the régime of private business enterprise

[13] The religious aspect of the caste system is illustrated in the following passage from Part I, Section 6, of the Vishnu Purana: "When Brahma of true intents was inspired with the desire of creating the cosmos, from his mouth came out creatures surcharged with the principle of goodness; and from the breast of Brahma, creatures surcharged with the principle of passion; from his thighs came out beings surcharged with both goodness and foulness; and from his feet Brahma created other beings who were impregnated with the principle of dullness. This is the fourfold division into orders. Brahma brought into being these four orders capable of satisfactorily performing sacrifices, in order to accomplish the successful celebration of them."

Mrs. Annie Besant has characterized the four castes from a functional point of view as (1) the instructing caste, (2) the protective caste, (3) the distributive caste, and (4) the productive caste.

the greater part of the means of production is owned by a comparatively small number of individuals, while the immediate control of most economic activities is in the hands of a still smaller number of individuals. The result is that most of the workers are put at a decided disadvantage in securing their share of the amount produced by society. Since the beginning of the modern industrial organization, and perhaps for a much longer period, the workers have not been able to influence to any great extent their share in the distribution of wealth. This has been determined by such factors as the richness of the natural resources, the density of the population, the accumulation of capital, the form of business enterprise, etc.; all of which are factors over which they have had little or no immediate control.

Another significant feature of modern economic organization is the great instability of industry. The principal illustration of this instability is to be found in the alternation between the periods of depression and of prosperity which takes place in the trade cycle. But at all times there is more or less instability, since industrial concerns are failing, or are overproducing and thus preparing to fail. The fundamental cause for this instability is the difficulty of obtaining an adjustment between the supply of and the demand for economic goods. It goes without saying that this difficulty has always existed, and always will exist to a certain extent. But in the past society was organized in the main in small communities, which were more or less self-sufficing economically. Consequently, producers were in close touch with the consumers of their products, and could adjust their output more or less accurately to the demand. Under the present large scale, machine system of production, it takes a great deal of capital to start most industrial enterprises, and in many cases takes the producers a long time to discover the nature and extent of the demand for their goods. Consequently, the chances for over-production and for business failure are greatly increased. The results are a vast amount of unemployment for the workers, and bankruptcy for many capitalists and enterprises.[14]

[14] "Poverty and Social Progress," New York, 1916, pp. 358-9. The characteristic weaknesses and evils of this form of economic organization, which conditions the class system, are described in detail in this book.

We can readily perceive, therefore, that economic insecurity is characteristic of the status of the vast majority under the class system. This is to a certain extent inevitable in any competitive system. The proletarian is not assured of a position in his trade for life, and the same is to a less extent true of the economic status of the bourgeois and of the capitalist. By means of trade unions and collective bargaining the proletariat is trying to assure itself of security, and corresponding organizations have been developing in the other classes. Much social legislation is directed toward assuring a minimum standard of living for the workers. On the other hand, the class system utilizes the efficiency derived from competitive individualism, and is sufficiently elastic to furnish the possibility of experimentation and progressive change.

The caste system assures the individual's economic status for life, and is therefore a sort of hereditary trade union. His caste protects the low-caste man within his rights as much as the high-caste man. Among other things, it protects him against the worst evils of industrial and competitive life, and may serve as a sort of automatic poor law. But it loses all the advantages of the class system, and is adapted only to a comparatively primitive type of economic and social organization. Its perpetuation in India long after the stage to which it belongs has rendered it, in the words of Sir Henry Maine, "the most disastrous and blighting of human institutions." It is hardly possible, and certainly not desirable, to reorganize it out of its present more or less chaotic condition, as is advocated by its Indian exponents. Hence it will in all probability break down completely and disappear in the face of the economic and social evolution of the Orient.

It may not be amiss in this connection to mention the rapid disappearance of the Japanese caste system. The principal Japanese castes were as follows:

1. The Kuges or aristocrats of the mikado's court.

2. The Daimyos or feudal lords, who constituted the aristocracy of the shogun's court and who did not usually inter-

marry with the Kuges, perhaps because of the rivalry between the two courts.

3. The Samurai or military caste, whose appointments were hereditary and who were forbidden from marrying with the lower castes.

4. The Heinui or commoners, who were divided into the three main castes of farmers, artisans, and traders.

5. The Etas or "untouchables," who lived in segregation, could not marry the higher castes, and could eat, drink, and associate only with their caste fellows.

While the Japanese resembled in a measure the Indian system in its outward appearance, a fundamental difference was that the Japanese system was feudal and not theocratic. No priest arrogating divine powers dominated it with the aid of supernatural threats. While the feudal and military domination may have been as bad in its way, it proved to be easier to dislodge. This was because of the strong national consciousness which transcended caste in binding the Japanese together, whereas in India caste consciousness is by far the stronger and serves to disunite the Indians. When Occidental pressure to open the ports to foreign trade became too insistent to resist, it was evident that the country must present a united front to the demands of Western nations. This meant the disappearance of the dual rule of shogun and mikado.

On the fourteenth of October, 1867, the shogun, who for nearly three centuries had been in practice the real ruler, resigned, and the mikado was restored to his pristine power. To complete the centralization of authority the 262 feudatory fiefs were abolished, and the Daimyos retired to private life on pensions. In 1871 an imperial decree abolished all caste distinctions. In 1876 the Samurai, of whom there were about 400,000, were deprived of their military pensions and sword-wearing privileges. In 1890 was opened the first parliament, embodying a very restricted form of representative government, which has been somewhat extended. For several decades after the restoration the Government was largely oligarchic

political power being in the hands of the Genro or Elder Statesmen, a small group of the abler and more enlightened feudal lords, whose long established prestige died hard, with a few newly created nobles. Until within the last few years it was customary, when a prime minister resigned without recommending a successor, for the mikado to request the Genro to make nominations. As practically all of the Elder Statesmen have died, the Government has become somewhat more democratic, but still remains very bureaucratic.

Though a caste system no longer exists in Japan, there still remain vestiges and institutions which resemble caste. Prejudice still lingers against the Etas, or formerly untouchable outcastes, owing to which they are still forced to dwell apart to a certain extent. Ethnically they do not differ from the population at large.[15] The Government is trying to break up their communities, which contain about 1,200,000 individuals, so that the discrimination against them will disappear. Officials in Tokio told me of Etas who have attained high rank in their professions, information as to their origin being carefully concealed by the Government in order to avoid doing them injury. In fact, the Government has forbidden the use of the term "Eta" in order to obliterate as rapidly as possible all remembrance of this unjust discrimination.

There are about a dozen families of imperial descent. In 1884 was established a peerage containing five grades—namely, prince, marquis, count, viscount, and baron. It now includes descendants of the former courtiers or Kuges, descendants of the former feudal lords or Daimyos, recently created peers, and Korean peers. There are about 950 Jap-

[15] "They are supposed to be descendants of aborigines, refugees of civil wars, disgraced *Samurai,* escaped criminals and above all those of the '*emibe*' origin, the 'unclean family' who cared for the dead in the early stage of Japanese history. They were never a caste quite in the Indian sense, but the introduction of Buddhism has resulted in ostracizing those belonging to this class, who were engaged, as many of them are still now, in tanning and butchers' work considered as unclean by Buddhists." (The Japan Year Book, 1924-25, p. 50.)

anese and eighty Korean peers. Like the titled class in England and other capitalistic countries, it is constantly being recruited from among the commoners of wealth and achievement, and may intermarry with commoners. In fact, Japan is rapidly moving toward the Western class system in which the distinction between capitalist and proletarian is of far more significance than any gradation of caste.

It is not to be expected that the Indian caste system will disappear so rapidly, even though it is no more than the Japanese system based upon racial differences which could give rise to permanent race prejudices. Indeed, there is difference of opinion as to whether it is at the present time growing weaker or stronger. The factories and the railways are bringing the castes more and more in contact with each other. The proud Brahman often likes to travel. But he cannot afford to hire a compartment, or usually even travel first or second class, where in any case he would be defiled by the presence of the contemned *mlecchas*. So he does the best he can by carrying his food and water with him, and the other castes follow suit. Often have I entered a railway compartment whose floor was cluttered with the pots and jugs of travelers frantically trying to observe their fantastic notions of purity in which ritualistic transcends physical cleanliness in importance, and genuinely scientific dietetic principles play a small part.

On the other hand, the recent awakening of a national consciousness has in some ways strengthened the idea of caste. It has caused some of the educated class to react hostilely against Occidental culture and to turn their faces toward their own ancient institutions. In the heads of many of the Hindu Nationalist leaders is an incongruous jumble of "*varnashrama dharma*" (the religion of the caste system) and "*swaraj*" (self-government). Until this grotesque contradiction of ideas disappears, neither can caste be abolished nor can national independence be attained.

Chapter VIII

THE SECLUSION OF WOMEN IN THE ORIENT

In Tientsin I called by appointment at the home of Mr. Chu Chi Chin, a classical scholar who has also had a distinguished political career. He was residing in one of the foreign concessions in a large house equipped with a mixture of Chinese and European furniture. As he is little acquainted with Occidental languages, he had invited to meet me Dr. V. K. Ting, one of the few Chinese scientists and former head of the Geological Survey. While waiting for Dr. Ting, Mr. Chu called in his daughter to act as interpreter, a charming girl of about fifteen, clad in a beautiful pale blue silk gown. She had accompanied her father, who was one of the Chinese delegates to the Washington Disarmament Conference of 1921, and during a few months' schooling in the United States had acquired some knowledge of English.

I mention this incident, trivial in itself, because it was the only occasion when I met a female member of a Chinese family in her own home. One of the most distressing features of my travels in the Orient has been the difficulty of becoming acquainted with the women and the home life. In Seoul a missionary told me that when he went to Korea thirty-five years or so ago, he lived in the house of a Korean gentleman for six months before his landlord permitted him to meet his wife. In Japan, at my request and by special arrangement, I was able to visit and inspect several households. In India I was entertained in several homes, but all of them were families under Western influence, some of them Christian. Ordinarily the only women whom the traveler meets in the Orient are those belonging to the professions devoted to the

entertainment of men, such as the geisha of Japan, the sing-song girls of China and Korea, the nautch dancers of India, and the prostitutes everywhere.

The seclusion of women in the home has existed in varying degrees at many times and places, in the Occident as well as in the Orient. It is far more characteristic of the East than of the West. It must, however, be remembered that at all times and places where it has existed it has been primarily and mainly true of the women of the upper classes. The women of the lower classes usually have to work with the men in the fields and elsewhere. Their homes are too small to render possible the segregation of the sexes which a thoroughgoing seclusion of women requires. Like polygyny wherever it has existed, the complete seclusion of women is largely a luxury of the men of the upper classes.

In Chapter VI we have seen that the family system, which is almost always based upon patriarchal authority, enhances the power of the males over the females. It devotes the women specially to purposes of breeding, and cuts them off to a considerable extent from a broader social life. A complete seclusion of women is rare. But the family system in the Orient renders the life of the women much more secluded than that of the men.

In ancient Japan women were relatively free until Chinese influence manifested itself.[1] In the streets of any Japanese city or town are to be seen many women shuffling along in their sandals or clogs, often with children on their backs. Their dress is the kimono similar to that of the men, but usually more gaily colored. The principal difference is the broader obi or belt. In the cities some of the men have adopted European dress, but very few of the women. In many places the men and women mingle freely in the public baths.

[1] "The position of women in ancient Japan was very different from what it afterwards became when Chinese ideas were in the ascendant. The Japanese of this early period did not share the feeling common to most Eastern countries, that women should be kept in subjection, and, as far as possible, in seclusion." (W. G. Aston, "History of Japanese Literature," New York, 1899, p. 55.)

There are many external indications of freedom and of an unrestricted life in public for the women as well as for the men. In Nagoya I attended a theater untouched by Western influence and filled with men, women, and children. There were apparently many family groups present, and there was no segregation of the sexes. All were seated on the floor with their knees bent and the weight of the body resting on the legs, which are doubled under, a position which soon becomes torture to the unhabituated foreigner. Between the numerous acts of a long melodrama, sweetmeats and other titbits were purchased from the venders, to be eaten during the acting. At the close of each act many children rushed down the runway and poked their heads under the curtain to watch the preparations for the next scene. Altogether it was a most familial gathering. There is, however, another side to the picture which must not be ignored.

In March, 1923, there were 4,708,363 boys and 4,460,528 girls in the elementary schools, which instruct the children from six to fourteen years of age. Most of the high schools are for boys alone, and there are not many for girls. Very few of the universities admit women. There are not many applicants, and usually only as hearers. When I lectured at Waseda, the largest university in Japan, in a large audience there was but one female student present. While the women have nearly as good facilities for elementary education as the men, their opportunities for higher education are still very limited.[2]

In June, 1924, there were employed in the factories 1,005,908 male and 969,558 female operatives, the great ma-

[2] The spirit of education for women in Japan is indicated by the following excerpts from Vol. IV of the Textbook on Ethics for the higher girls' schools compiled by the Department of Education: "It being the woman's lot in general to marry, help her husband, bring up her children and to attend to housekeeping, she should aspire to become a good wife and next a wise mother. . . . Obedience to the husband is what is expected of a wife as a matter of course. . . . Marriage devolves upon a woman a new parental relation; her husband's parents become her own. She should be devoted to them just as she was to her real parents."

jority of the female operatives being in the textile factories. A large proportion of the female operatives are very young. In 1920, of the female 13.4 per cent. were under fifteen years of age and 45 per cent. from fifteen to twenty, while the corresponding figures for the male operatives were 3.3 per cent. and 22.5 per cent. Inasmuch as the number of men employed in the factories is rapidly increasing, the proportion of female factory labor is decreasing, having fallen from 62 per cent. in 1909 to a little less than 50 per cent. in 1924. The scale of wages for female is considerably lower than for male operatives.

Many women are engaged in agricultural labor and as servants. The number employed in business offices is rapidly increasing. In professional lines their activities are still comparatively limited. In the elementary schools in 1923 there were 63,554 female as contrasted with 131,643 male teachers. In 1925 there were about seven hundred female physicians.

According to the civil code of Japan, men and women are in theory upon an equality. But a married woman cannot perform many important legal acts without the consent of her husband, and she has fewer causes for divorce than he. Male heirs have superior rights over female heirs. Until 1922, women were forbidden by law to promote or attend any political meetings whatsoever, and they have not yet been given the suffrage, though in this regard their Western sisters are not far in advance of them. There is little indication as yet of the so-called women's movement which has been so active during the past few decades in almost all Occidental countries.[3]

The position of women in Japan is similar to many other phases of the present situation in that country. The rapid

[3] "The so-called woman movement is still incipient in Japan, and whatever agitation is made in this direction comes chiefly from and is conducted by men. Even this is mainly academic. There is no organized movement aiming at the elevation of women's position. Activity shown by women in public affairs is principally in the sphere of charity and philanthropic work." ("The Japan Year Book," 1925, p. 247.)

adoption of the Western economic system has created a demand for female labor in industry, especially in the textile factories, and as stenographers, clerks, and the like, in commerce and business in general. But these changes have not as yet had much influence upon public opinion as to woman's status and functions. As we have already seen, the family system still dominates with its concomitant idea of rearing many children, as indicated by the rapid increase of population and stubborn opposition to birth-control. Militarism may also have its influence, for it requires a sharp differentiation between the functions of men and women. Consequently, woman still is regarded as primarily and principally a breeder of children and housekeeper. While the external form has changed in part, the spirit remains as of old.

The position of the Japanese woman seems free as compared with her sisters in most Oriental countries. Until recently Korean upper-class women were almost completely secluded in their homes. In Songdo, an old-fashioned Korean city, I saw many women wearing the white national costume with a long piece of cloth which formerly covered the face but which is now thrown back over the head. The Japanese administration of Korea since 1910 is furnishing educational facilities for the Korean girls. In Seoul the Japanese authorities showed me excellent schools for girls as well as for boys. Japan presents an object-lesson of a freer womanhood to Korea. The missionaries have probably had more influence in Korea than in any other Oriental country, largely because of the decadence of Korean culture. Through missionary influence many young Koreans have gone to the United States to study. All of these influences signify a wider and more independent life for Korean women in the near future. They have not yet had sufficient time to change materially the life of these women behind the stone walls which inclose the Korean home.

The bound feet of the Chinese women constituted a striking and appropriate symbol of their seclusion. While this

practice was forbidden by law shortly before the establishment of the republic, its victims still hobble along city streets and country roads. As late as 1925 I saw many who had not yet lost their youthful appearance. The origin of this custom is obscure, but must have been closely related to the seclusion of women. Few measures are better adapted to restrict their freedom of movement. Esthetic considerations were probably an after-thought. Only within the last few decades have upper-class Chinese women begun to appear in public. But foot-binding was prevalent among the proletarian and peasant classes as well.

How early the doctrine of the seclusion and subjection of women became a part of Chinese culture it is impossible to determine. That it was firmly established in Confucian times is clearly indicated in the Li-ki, the Book of Rites or Ceremonies. "The woman follows the man. In her youth she follows her father and elder brother; when married, she follows her husband; when her husband is dead, she follows her son." (Book IX, 10.) Drastic separation between the sexes is maintained. "The Master said: 'The ceremonial usages serve as dykes for the people against evil excesses. They exemplify the separation between the sexes which should be maintained, that there may be no ground for suspicion and human relations may be clearly defined.' " (Book XXVII, 33.) The importance of propriety in the most important relation between the sexes is emphasized. "The observance of propriety commences with careful attention to the relations between husband and wife." (Book X, sec. ii, 13.) The separation between the sexes is extended to domestic and extramural affairs. "The men should not speak of what belongs to the inside of the house, nor the women of what belongs to the outside." (Book X, sec. i, 12.) "Outside affairs should not be talked of inside the home, nor inside affairs outside of it." (Book I, sec. i, pt. iii, c. vi, v. 33.) In view of the overwhelming influence of Chinese civilization in eastern Asia, it is not surprising that this doctrine was adopted

in an extreme form by Korea and eventually in a milder form by Japan.

As China is the classic land of the family system, the position of the women has been determined largely by this system. Its patriarchal character made boys more valuable than girls. Consequently, when the pressure of population on the means of subsistence encouraged infanticide in the congested regions, it was female and not male infanticide which took place. Marriages are made by the parents, usually at a comparatively early age, sometimes through middlemen, and presumably in the interest of the family. The parties often do not see each other until it is consummated. Woman is not regarded as the companion of man but as the mother of his children and his housekeeper. It is reported of the leader of the literary revolution, who was educated in the United States, that upon returning to China in 1916 he dutifully married the bride whom his mother had chosen for him.

According to Confucian theory the wife has no rights which the husband must respect. The woman, nevertheless, has a great deal of influence and authority within the home. During the first years of married life she is under the autocratic rule of her mother-in-law. After she has become a mother, especially if she bears male offspring, her influence increases until she in turn becomes the head of the internal economy of a household. Barrenness, on the other hand, may result in her being supplanted by another wife. Mencius uttered the dictum that to leave no posterity is the worst of three lines of unfilial conduct. In ignorance of the biological laws of heredity, the wife alone is held responsible for sterility.

In the cities the life of the woman goes on largely behind the high stone walls of the Chinese house. In the country I have often seen them gossiping in the village streets and working in the fields with the men. While her physical seclusion is less, the mental seclusion of the peasant woman is

WOMEN IN STREET MARKET, RANGOON, BURMA

WOMEN IN HATAMEN STREET, PEKING, CHINA

as great as if not greater than that of her urban sister.[4] For women as well as for men this mental seclusion can be broken only by means of the education which comes through the use of books, travel, and taking part in the broader social life outside of the home. This is as true in the Orient as it is in the Occident, whatever claims may be made as to esoteric and recondite sources of knowledge.

Partly owing to the lack of an alphabet and the extreme difficulty of learning to read, the standard of literacy has always been very low in China. It was, in fact, practically a monopoly of the literati, who studied mainly for the purpose of taking the state examinations. Consequently, until recently there was no female literacy and no organized education for girls. There were a number of books on the duties of womanhood which were presumably read to them, but no other formal education. In this regard, to be sure, they were no worse off than in most Oriental countries, or, for that matter, in many Occidental countries until comparatively recently.

Since the establishment of the republic in 1912, the literary revolution has been abolishing the classical language and substituting the *pei-hua* or spoken tongue. One thousand foundation characters have been chosen which make it possible to write and to read almost everything. This is rendering popular education much more feasible. In 1923 there were 167,076 lower primary schools with 5,445,815 male and 368,560 female pupils; 10,236 higher primary schools with 547,292 male and 35,132 female pupils; and 1660 higher institutions with 208,515 male and 14,478 female students. In other words, only a little over 6 per cent. were female. Opportunities for university education are still very limited. There are, I believe, a few women in the National University at Peking. In Nanking I visited an American missionary col-

[4] Smith has given a graphic picture of the life of Chinese women, especially in the villages. (A. H. Smith "Village Life in China," New York, 1899, fourth edition.)

lege for girls housed in beautiful buildings of Chinese architecture. The women have, nevertheless, taken their part with the men in the students' movement in politics. At a students' demonstration in front of the Imperial Palace in Peking I saw young women on the speakers' platform coöperating with their male comrades in carrying on the meeting.

In the picturesque Indian scene perhaps the most striking note is furnished by the women. The colorful *sari* flows gracefully from head to foot, and is drawn tightly into many folds at the waist. Its color is often set off by a breastband of another hue, while between it and the waist gleams an expanse of the woman's bronzed skin. She is profusely decorated with a nose-ring, ear-rings, finger-rings, toe-rings, necklaces, bracelets, armlets, and anklets. Especially in southern India the woman becomes the treasure house of the family. On her forehead is the insignia of the Hindu and her fingers and toes are stained with henna. Far more impressive than all of this external and often excessive ornamentation is her magnificent carriage. With head erect, straight figure, and undulating body, she moves smoothly, gracefully and often swiftly over the ground. Here, to all appearances, must be a free creature.

Unfortunately, however, appearances often are deceptive. Her splendidly independent carriage is not due to freedom of thought and action on her part, but to the custom of carrying pots of water and other weights upon the head and to the barefoot tread, for unlike many of the men she has not yet succumbed to the Western habit of footwear. Her husband is chosen by her parents, sometimes before she is born, and she is married at an early age, often before puberty. As in China, she passes under the rule of her mother-in-law, and only gradually acquires influence and authority in the home. Usually she becomes the mother of numerous children and has little opportunity for social life and recreation outside of the *zenana* (women's quarters). If she has the misfortune to become a widow, she is in many castes forbidden

to remarry, even though she is still a virgin, and the remainder of her life is passed in seclusion and drudgery.[5]

The position of woman varies greatly in different parts of India. The cultural situation is much less uniform than in Japan or China. There have been several indigenous cultures, and others which have been imported and have met and mingled there. In fact, India is to a large extent a cultural and anthropological museum. As we have seen in the preceding chapter, the numerous castes vary considerably in their treatment of women. So that the situation is very complicated, and only a few outstanding facts can be stated.

The great majority of the approximately seventy millions of Moslems dwell in northern and central India. Among them the custom of the "*purdah*" (curtain or screen) or physical seclusion of women is very strong. Hindus have asserted to me that Islam introduced the *purdah* into India, and that in ancient times the Indian woman was very free. This belief is manifestly erroneous, and is fostered by Hindus who dislike Western criticism of the position of their women. There is evidence in the ancient literature as well as historical evidence that in certain parts of India woman led a very secluded existence long before the advent of Islam.[6] It is, however, probable that Islam has encouraged the custom and caused it to persist in an accentuated form even among

[5] According to the census of 1921, out of every thousand females up to five years of age, eleven were married and one widowed; from five to ten years, eighty-eight were married and five widowed; and from ten to fifteen, 382 were married and seventeen widowed.

[6] See the Vedic literature (probably 1500 to 1000 B.C.), and the Ramayana (probably composed by Valmiki in the fifth century B.C.). King Ashoka, in the third century B.C., speaks of his secluded female apartment (*avarodhana*). See the dramas of Bhasa and Kalidasa, and the "Kama Sutra" of Vatsyayana, who lived early in the Christian era. Some of these citations, however, refer only to the seclusion of women in royal and aristocratic families. D. R. Bhandarkar, professor of ancient Indian history and culture in Calcutta University, sums up a survey of this subject in the following words: "The general belief is that the seclusion of woman was unknown to ancient India and that the Purdah system was introduced into the country by the Mohammedans. But nothing is more erroneous." ("The Carmichael Lectures, 1923, Ashoka," Calcutta, 1925.)

the Hindus. Thus in the Punjab and United Provinces *purdah* carts and palanquins containing women are often to be seen. But even in northern and central India the majority of the Hindu women, at any rate the lower-class women, are free from the *purdah* so far as appearing in public with faces uncovered is concerned.

In southern India there has never been any trace whatsoever of the *purdah*. The women move about freely and with no attempt at concealment. Whether or not this was characteristic of the indigenous Dravidian culture, it is difficult to determine. On the southwest coast there still survive traces of matriarchal institutions from an early date. But in southern as well as in other parts of India, Hindu culture restricts woman's interests and activities to the home, where her mental seclusion is as great as in most Oriental countries.

The educational facilities for Indian womanhood are still very limited. According to the census of 1921, the literacy per thousand for all those ten years of age and over was 161 for the males and 23 for the females. In other words, the literacy of the males was seven times that of the females. Twenty years earlier, or in 1901, the corresponding figures were 129 and 9. In other words, the literacy of the males was more than fourteen times that of the females, so that during those two decades the women had gained in proportion twice as much as the men. The literacy of the different religious communities varies considerably. In 1921 for the Hindus the literacy per thousand for all of those five years of age and over was 130 for the males and 16 for the females; for the Moslems the figures were 94 and 9 respectively; and for the Christians 355 and 210.

The opportunities for higher education for Indian women are very few. They are almost entirely limited to the government and Christian institutions. When I lectured at the University of the State of Mysore, a number of students came over from the maharani's College for Women. At the

Hindu Vidyapith (college) at Ahmedabad, of which Mahatma Gandhi is the chancellor, a mere handful of female students was present. So far as I know, there are no Moslem higher institutions of learning for women.[7]

Many of the peoples of the Malay States and of the East Indies are Mohammedan. Islam rests lightly on the Malay folk, whom it has not succeeded in completely subduing. Consequently, the physical seclusion of women is not prevalent among them. In Java I saw no signs of it at all. In that beautiful island the gay and laughing Javanese women in their colorful garb move about freely in public. But that does not mean that their activities are not almost entirely restricted to the home and that their mental seclusion is not as great as in other Oriental countries.

In Burma I have watched the smiling women, often puffing huge cigars, buying and selling in the markets and shops. Almost one is persuaded that they rather than the men conduct the business of this land of many pagodas. To what extent this is true I do not know. Fielding Hall, who resided there for many years, has described courting customs which indicate a certain freedom of choice. He tells us that Burmese marriage is a partnership, no religious ceremony being necessary, and that divorce is free to both parties. Property is retained by each spouse, and what is earned during marriage is divided in case the conjugal tie is broken.[8] Hinayana Buddhism has long held sway in Burma, and its gentle and humanitarian doctrines may account in part for the relatively high position of the Burmese woman. There are doubtless other cultural factors which are not obvious on the surface.

As the breeder of children and the physically weaker sex,

[7] Before me lies a recent catalogue of the Osmania University of Hyderabad, which is under Moslem control. It states that there is a scheme under consideration for opening intermediate classes in the government Zenana High School.

[8] H. Fielding Hall, "The Soul of a People," London, 1898.

woman has with few exceptions been more closely associated with the home than man. Temperamentally also she may crave home life more than man. If this be true, the seclusion of Oriental women is not as great a hardship as it appears to be to Western eyes. The Bengalee poet Tagore is perhaps right in comparing the sexes as follows: "Man may be well likened to a tree which needs extension, space, open air, varied combination of sap and air and rain, and all sorts of things. So if his roots are torn away he cannot but writhe in great pain. Woman, on the other hand, is like a creeper that seeks fulfillment through embracing the tree, and may flourish merely by clinging around the tree."[9]

However that may be, in the course of social evolution there has been considerable variation in the extent to which she has engaged in pursuits outside of the home. It is not improbable that she played an important part in the development of agriculture and certain of the early industries, while man was engaged in hunting, fishing, and fighting. In primitive society the basket makers, potters, weavers, embroiderers, leather-workers, etc., were to a large extent craftswomen, and these trades were in part household industries.[10] In certain societies militarism was developed to such an excessive degree that man devoted himself almost exclusively to military pursuits, while woman took over practically all of the economic activities. A few such barbarous communities still survive in remote corners of the world.

As industry was removed more and more from the home, in the Occident as well as in the Orient these economic activities have usually been carried on by the men. The industrial revolution, however, has again furnished woman with many opportunities for work outside of the home, though the direction and control of industry and commerce still remain largely in the hands of the men, and the same is

[9] In "The New York Times," August 14, 1927.

[10] See O. T. Mason, "Woman's Share in Primitive Culture," New York, 1894.

true of political activities. The Orient has as yet been only slightly touched by this great revolution, but it will doubtless materially influence the position of the women within the near future.

Chapter IX

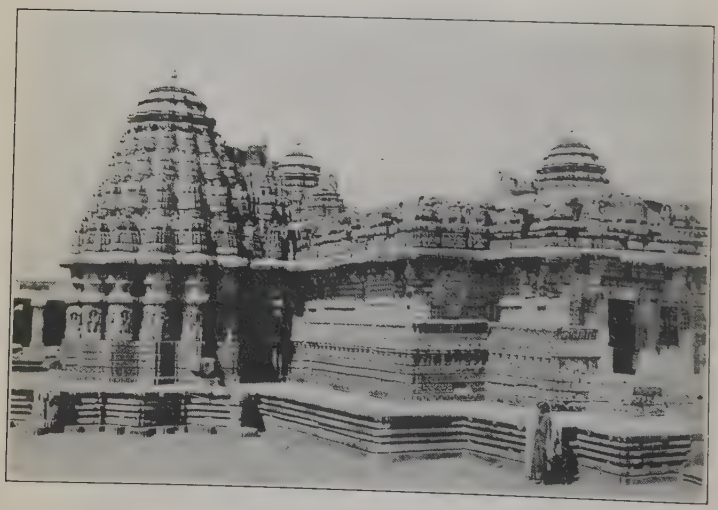
THE RECOGNITION OF SEX

In the northeastern corner of Peking is a lamasery inclosing an extensive area. I was wandering through its temples, gazing upon images of Buddha, prayer-wheels, and the like, when a lama or monk, anticipating a forbidden fee, took me in tow. He guided me into a side temple where with sly gestures he exhibited numerous erotic figures depicting the sex life of mankind.

On the banks of the holy Ganges in the city of Benares, sanctified by the spiritual emanations of many saints, stands a small temple whose pillars are carved with numerous human forms entwined in various sexual attitudes. As I was inspecting these carvings, the temple attendants, contaminated by Western contacts, leered, and my guide, a Pathan, uttered the contempt of a Moslem for the alleged indecency of the Hindus. To the casual visitor from the Occident erotic art and symbolism in association with religion seem not only indecent but blasphemous. Keyserling is much nearer the truth when he says that "erotic images in India never belong to pornography but to iconography." [1] The lingam-yoni, or united external genital organs of the sexes, as the symbol of the worship of Shiva the Reproducer is the most notable illustration. The nahman, or union of the virile and menstrual fluids, is a similar symbol. In the Tantric mysteries, in which is worshiped Parvati, the wife of Shiva, sex plays an important part. While it may have a baser side in orgies which may or may not have utility, the recognition of sex

[1] H. Keyserling, "The Travel Diary of a Philosopher," New York, 1925, Vol. II, p. 199.

WOMEN IN DARJEELING BAZAAR, INDIA



HINDU TEMPLE AT SOMNATHPORE, MYSORE STATE, INDIA

in connection with what is regarded as most sacred lends to it a dignity and importance which it deserves, and which usually are not adequately recognized in Europe and America.

To be sure, the importance of sex is often exaggerated by extending it far beyond the organic world to which it is restricted. Thus the deities are regarded as sexed, often highly sexed, and mated. Shiva and his wife Parvati form a licentious pair. Vishnu's spouse is Lakshmi, and even the great god Brahma has his consort Sarasvati. The gods procreate and some of them, as Krishna the prolific warrior, have numerous offspring. Kama is the god of love or sensual pleasure. The modern Bengalee poet attributes the beginning of things to sex when he says that had there been no fundamental difference between man and woman "the eternal play of the universe would never have begun." [2] All of these notions are due to the anthropomorphic tendency of the human mind everywhere. The deities of ancient Egypt, Greece, and Rome also were mated. The Jehovah of the Jews, the God of Christianity, and the Allah of Islam are alike male. Mariolatry furnishes to a large part of Christendom an opportunity to worship the female. Theologians have devoted much thought and ink to the portentous question as to whether angels are male or female.

Some idea of the Oriental recognition of sex can be derived from its erotic literature. The Indian science of love (*kamashastra*) is closely related, on the one hand, to *arthashastra* (science of practical life), and, on the other hand, to *ayurveda* (medical science). The principal works of the Indian literature are the "Kama Sutra," or aphorisms concerning love, and the "Kama Shastra," or principles or doctrine of love, which incorporate ancient lore on this subject. The "Kama Sutra" was compiled by Mallanaga Vatsyayana probably in the fifth century of the Christian era, and belonged to the period of the Brahman renaissance against Buddhism. As might be expected of an Indian work, the

[2] Rabindranath Tagore in "The New York Times," August 14, 1927.

author avows a religious motive for his treatise: "This work has not been prepared to serve simply as an instrument for the satisfaction of our desires. Any one who, grasping the true principles of this science, cultivates with care his *dharma* (religious merit), his *artha* (temporal wealth), and his *kama* (sensual pleasure), and takes into consideration the practices of our people, is sure to arrive at a mastery of his senses." In other words, his ultimate object is somewhat similar to that of the yoga philosophy and practices which I have discussed in Chapter IV.

The "Kama Sutra" is primarily a manual of love, but also discusses the acquisition of wealth, the management of a household, civic and family life, etc. It describes various ways of stimulating sexual feeling and forms of sexual intercourse, and the different physical and psychological types, both male and female, with respect to love. A considerable portion consists of advice to courtezans how to succeed in their profession. Vatsyayana tells us that his science of love is based upon the ancient texts, and that while preparing his work he was leading the life of a religious student and was totally absorbed in the contemplation of divinity. He does not tell us how he was able to consider at the same time the more mundane matters of love.[3]

The "Kama Shastra" was written more than a millennium later, in the sixteenth century, by the Brahman poet Kalyana Malla, and was prepared for the sex education of the son of a ruler of the Gujarat region in western India. The author commences in the usual religious manner: "Of a truth, no joy in this world of mortals can compare with that caused by a knowledge of the Creator. But immediately after, and ceding only to that joy, come the satisfaction and pleasure resulting from the possession of a beautiful woman." He then expounds the importance of the art of love.

[3] A detailed commentary on the "Kama Sutra" entitled "Jayamangala" was written by Yasodhara Indrapada in the thirteenth century.

This treatise deals in particular with conjugal love, little or nothing being said about courtezanship. With the aid of tables are described in great detail the different physical types of both sexes and their compatibility with each other, arriving at the following eminently practical conclusion: "From a consideration of these tables it is entirely evident that the greatest happiness consists in the correspondence of the dimensions [of the sex organs], and that discontent increases in proportion to the lack of accord." In similar fashion are described in detail the forms of sexual intercourse. Concerning the one in the posture of the "sacred cow," the author piously ejaculates: "There is in this form great religious merit." He also discusses sexual intercourse in relation to the days of the lunar fortnight and the hours of each day. We may well be skeptical as to whether the moon has as much influence as he alleges.

Both of these compilations furnish many love philters, charms, and other prescriptions for making the sexes more attractive to each other. The efficacy of some of these measures may be questioned, as, for example, the following taken from the "Kama Sutra":

"Sweetened milk, wherein has been boiled a ram's or goat's testicle, produces [sexual] vigor."

"If a man, after having mixed the powder of the milky hedge plant and of the kantala plant with the excrements of a monkey and the ground-up root of the lanjalika plant, throws this mixture upon a woman, she will no longer love any other person."

"To drink the milk of a white cow which has a calf with white feet, is of good augury, gives a good reputation, and preserves life. The propitiatory benedictions of venerable Brahmins have the same effect."

The "Kama Shastra" gives the following dubious recipes for fertility and sterility:

"The woman who will drink habitually in cow's milk equal

parts of dry powdered ginger, pepper, long pepper, thorny solanum (*Solanum Jacquini*), and cassia buds, will conceive and bear a son, however long she may have been sterile." [4]

"The woman who will eat each day for a fortnight forty mashas of molasses (*jagri*) which is three years old, will remain sterile all of the remainder of her life."

The following charm is said to assure an easy travail and the happy delivery of a child:

"Let a holy man recite over water a mantra or charm whose power he knows, and then give it to the woman."

The "Kuttanimata," or lessons of a go-between, is a lyric poem composed in the eighth century by Damodaragupta, prime minister of the king of Kashmir, and based on ancient texts. It relates how a beautiful young girl who wishes to become a courtezan goes for instruction to an old woman who is a skilful go-between or procuress. The spirit of the work is indicated in the following passage: "For love, anger, craftiness, pretty ways, childish manners, modesty (or shame), all of these constitute, for these women, the very woof of life. Like unto a miserable wisp of straw is the life of a courtezan whose heart is subjugated by a high and powerful love and who cannot think of seeing herself separated from her well-beloved."

The "Samayamatrika," or breviary of the courtezan, is a similar poem composed by Kshemendra Vyasadasa, a versatile and prolific writer of Kashmir who lived in the eleventh century, and perhaps imitated the preceding work, though on a broader scale. A beautiful courtezan receives lessons from an old go-between, who characterizes the profession as follows: "The prostitute who, for those who attach themselves to her is an intoxicating beverage, for those who can command money, a goddess of beauty and happiness, for

[4] The fondness of the Hindus for aphrodisiacs may be due in part to the fact that most of them are vegetarians, eschew alcoholic beverages, and drink only water. This may explain their faith in curry, ginger, pepper, cinnamon, cloves, and other spices, which they call hot condiments (*garm masala*), and which are reputed to be aphrodisiac.

wealthy men, a nectar, for those whose wealth has disappeared, a poison, dazzles, O courtezan with the beautiful eyebrows, the very gods themselves."

In the twelfth century Jayadeva wrote his beautiful and extremely voluptuous pastoral poem entitled "Gita Govinda," or cowherd in song, in which appear the amorous god Krishna as a youthful cowherd and the beautiful *gopi* (milkmaid or cowherdess) Rahda. In his description of the delights of voluptuousness is the following delicately expressed and characteristic passage: "For some moments voluptuous tremors put an obstacle to close embraces, the winking of the eyes to the longing looks cast upon the play of love, entertaining remarks to the pleasure of drinking the honey of the lips, the overflow of felicity to the struggle in the art of Kama; and this marvellous prelude to their hymeneal union became a ravishing thing." [5]

In the dark obscurity of Indian history it is not easy to explain the efflorescence of this erotic literature. I have already referred to the struggle for domination which took place between the Brahmans and Kshatryas. When the Kshatrya Rajput, Prince Gautama, founded Buddhism in the sixth century before Christ, this struggle became identified with the contest for supremacy between Brahmanism and Buddhism. The humanitarian tenets of the latter religion attracted to it the lower castes and outcastes who had been downtrodden by the Brahmans. But it also exalted celibacy, which can never make a wide appeal. There is some reason to believe that in order to oppose their rivals effectively the

[5] Numerous poets have written of the love of Rahda and Krishna, such as Vidyapati Thakur in the fifteenth century. There are many other poetic and dramatic works in the Indian erotic literature. In the fourth or fifth century A.D. the famous dramatist Kalidasa wrote several amorous poems, and in the seventh century Bhartrihari made a collection of stanzas entitled "Shringara-shataka," or hundred stanzas of love. Later came the "Panchasayaka," or five arrows of love, of Jyotirisvara; the "Amaru-shataka," or hundred stanzas of Amaru; the "Ratirahasya," or secret of love, by Kokkoka (probably in the twelfth century); the "Ananga-ranga," or stage of Cupid, by Kalyana Malla, in the sixteenth century; etc., etc.

Brahmans exalted the sexual instinct, placing it and procreation on a divine plane, thus encouraging lust in order to allure the populace. This may have disseminated the cult of Shiva, the worship of the amorous god Krishna, and other more or less erotic cults. To this day Shivaism dominates at Benares, and Shiva and Krishna are the most popular of the Hindu gods. The cult of Krishna is often identified with that of Kama, the god of sensual pleasure.

This may explain why, not only in the literature of love which has been described, but in the religious literature, such as the Puranas, the Sutras, and the Tantras, and also in the epic poems, there is much of an erotic character. It is a notable fact that much of the erotic literature arose during the aforesaid struggle between Brahmanism and Buddhism. After the invention and adoption of Sanskrit writing, it had a renaissance in Hindu poetry during the period of approximately from the eighth to the sixteenth century. Much of this was in the form of didactic poems which were inspired by the ancient erotic works and repeated them in effect.

Most of this literature clearly indicates the high rank assigned to the courtezan. This is to be expected wherever sex and sensual pleasure are exalted by religion. The courtezan has often been invoked as the priestess of Kama. To this day they are sometimes attached to the larger temples in an almost sacerdotal position. This has had an effect upon their social standing and functions to which I shall advert later. On the other hand, the woman as wife, and still more so as mother, plays a minor part in this literature, which is also a significant fact.

It has been thought that the phallic cult of Priapus in ancient Greece and Rome was derived from the cult of Shiva by way of Assyria, Phenicia, Cyprus, and Asia Minor. This is not necessarily the case, because phallicism has probably arisen spontaneously more than once. However this may be, the Indian erotic literature doubtless has had an influence upon the literature of the countries of the Near East, such

as Persia, Arabia, Egypt, and Turkey. This was perhaps most true of Arabia, whose culture, after the rise of Islam, dominated for many centuries the southern part of Asia Minor, northern Africa, and penetrated into the Iberian peninsula, thus carrying its influence into Europe.

The "Perfumed Garden" was written at Tunis in about the year A.D. 1520 by an Arabian sheik. It has since been amplified by additions from ancient texts and Indian works and is obviously modeled after the "Kama Sutra" and "Kama Shastra." Like them, it commences with a pious ejaculation: "Praise be to God, who has put the greatest pleasure of men in the genital parts of women and the greatest joy of women in the sexual parts of men." The Koran is quoted as saying: "Women are your field, go to your field whenever you wish." (Chapter II, verse 223.) The traits which render the sexes attractive to each other are described. It is asserted that "woman loves man only for coition," hence he should be richly endowed as to his sex organs. The woman should be rich in embonpoint and have a large bust and abdomen.

The author asserts that erotic literature is useful to stimulate waning sexual vigor, and truthfully states that the whole world has "a taste for this kind of books which may be compared with the philosopher's stone which transmutes common metals into gold." Thirty-nine names for the virile organ and forty-three names for the female genital organs and the reasons therefor are stated. Numerous methods of sexual intercourse are described in detail. There is a section on perverse forms of sexual indulgence. Some of the prescriptions for stimulating sexual feeling are no more reliable than the corresponding Indian ones, the hardy ass taking the place of the cow, as the following will indicate:

"The virile member rubbed with ass's milk acquires an unparalleled vigor and energy."

"Cook the male organ of an ass with onions and wheat, then feed this mixture to hens which must eventually be eaten."

The Arabian manual is less religious in tone than the Indian manuals of love, and therefore more frankly carnal in its nature. It rejects some of the Indian methods as causing more trouble than pleasure, and adds the following truthful observation: "The things which are preferable in coition, and which cap the climax to its enjoyment, are the embrace, the kisses and the sucking of the lips; thus is human coition distinguished from that of the animals." The Arab accepts without question sexual pleasure as the free gift of God. The Indian regards it as a preliminary to and preparation for the vastly more important matters of religion and as a lower stage in the eternal transmigration of souls, as the "Kama Shastra" puts it: "In the measure that a man advances in age and moderates his passions, he is free to think of his Creator, to study religious subjects and to acquire the divine science."

The Arabian literature contains many amorous poems. The Arabian women are reputed to be beautiful, and in early youth wear little or no clothing. This may explain the frequent description of their physical charms, as illustrated in the following passage from the "Moallaka" of Nabigha al-Dhubyani, written in the sixth century: "The amber of her skin clothes her like a robe of silk, a perfect creature, she has the suppleness of a bending branch. Her abdomen is sleek and pleasing, very firm breasts swell out her bosom."

The "Thousand and One Nights," often called the "Arabian Nights," is largely made up of tales of amorous intrigues which were collected principally in the eighteenth century. The scene is usually laid in Bagdad or its vicinity. Many of these tales have come from elsewhere, being borrowed from Persian, Indian, and Chinese as well as Arabian sources. The tales, exaggerated though they may be as a realistic picture, seem to indicate that the desire for adventures of love succeeds at times in breaking through the strictest seclusion imposed upon the women of the Orient, in which respect they are not unlike their sisters elsewhere.

Many other examples of Near Eastern erotic literature

might be mentioned, such as the voluptuous Jewish "Song of Songs," attributed to King Solomon, to be found somewhat bowdlerized in the King James version of the Old Testament; Persian, Turkish, Egyptian, and Afghan amorous poetry. In the "Song of Songs," which is said to date from about 1000 B.C., appear several descriptions full of imagery.

"The joints of thy thighs are like jewels, the work of the hands of a cunning workman. Thy navel is like a round goblet, which wanteth not liquor. Thy belly is like a heap of wheat set about with lilies. Thy two breasts are like two young roes that are twins. Thy neck is as a tower of ivory; thine eyes like the fishpools in Heshbon. . . . How fair and pleasant art thou, O love, for delights! This thy stature is like to a palm tree, and thy breasts to clusters of grapes." (Chapter VII.)

The following is a stanza from a ballad by a modern Afghan poet, Mirza Rahchan Kayil (A.D. 1855-1901):

Oh! this odor which floats over thy nape, thy throat and thy arms,
Which hovers around thy loins and thy golden-hued belly,
This odor which is fed without ceasing as by two inexhaustible vials
From the tufted fleeces which shadow thy humid arm-pits.
I carry with me the scent of thy body.

In modern times the Occident has begun to influence this literature. This is illustrated in the work of the Turkish poet Djenab Chehaboudin, born at Constantinople in 1870, who studied in Paris. He terminates a lyric entitled "Poem of Love" with the following words:

Unbutton your vest, that these eyes may see your body of silver.
Remember the old proverb: too much coquetry tires the lover.

I do not know to what extent this erotic literature has been and is read in India and its neighboring regions, and

how widespread, therefore, is its direct influence.[6] The fact that it exists and is honored and sometimes regarded as sacred is of great significance. When it attempts to be scientific, it is often pseudo-scientific and therefore provocative of mirth. The practical experience in the art of love which it embodies is of greater value. Much of it represents a serious attempt to deal frankly and openly with one of the most important aspects of human life.

In the Occident, on the contrary, such literature has usually been regarded as obscene and pornographic, and when tolerated at all only under narrow restrictions. This pernicious and almost inhuman attitude has placed great difficulties in the way of its serious students and creators. Indeed, it may be said that love as one of the greatest of human arts and the scientific facts upon which it should be based are scarcely recognized at all in the Anglo-Saxon and north European countries. This situation has encouraged incompetent persons to try to meet this universal human craving by producing and distributing by devious methods a scabrous literature unworthy of the name of either art or science. The most notable exception has been France, whose glory it is that it has maintained a greater freedom in these matters. As a consequence, not only has its own erotic literature developed more fully, but the literature of the Orient has circulated there more freely.[7] When the science of the West can join and coöperate with the joyous zest in the practice of love of the East, then can a genuine science and art of love develop which will benefit the whole of mankind.

[6] A Hindu writer comments as follows: "Sex has been a principal motif of Hindu literature and art. Sex has ever occupied a powerful position in the formation of religions, precepts, and practices. And the sex idea has been prominent also in domestic life and social institutions" (B. K. Sarkar, "Love in Hindu Literature," Tokio, 1916, pp. 66-67).

[7] To any one who is acquainted with the erotic customs and literature of the East as well as of the West, it is amusing to note that certain practices are stigmatized as French which were known in the Orient long before the French nation came into existence.

Certain traits of this Oriental literature which has been reviewed should be mentioned. There is little in the nature of sex education for the young. The "Kama Shastra" was, to be sure, written for a young prince. But like the other manuals, its style is more adapted for adults than for children, who should be introduced to the subject in simple language and by degrees. All of these works assume a previous sex experience on the part of the reader.

Three types of sex relations are indicated—namely, marriage of a cut-and-dried sort, prostitution, and to a much less extent amorous intrigues often on the part of married women. With respect to conjugal relations, the intention of the manuals is to serve the useful purpose of making them in their sexual aspect as satisfactory as possible for both spouses. There is little indication of what is known in the West as romantic love, and still less of the play function of sex to which I shall advert later.

The erotic literature of the east Asiatic countries seems meager compared with that of India and the Near East. The students of the Chinese classics say that they contain no indecencies, by which I suppose they mean that they do not discuss sex.[8] The literature of China, which is very voluminous, is still to a large extent a *terra incognita* to Western students, and it may contain erotic works which are as yet unknown. There are said to be many works of fiction. Chinese poetry is singularly free from amorous characteristics, and is devoted largely to the exaltation of friendship between men. While Europeans and Americans cast an air of romance and mystery around sex relations, as is often illustrated in Occidental poetry and fiction which are preoccupied with love, the Chinese apparently regard these relations as obvious and commonplace, a necessity for the body but not a satis-

[8] See, for example, A. H. Smith, "Chinese Characteristics," New York, 1894, fifth edition; W. E. Soothill, "The Three Religions of China," London, 1913.

faction for the emotions. This satisfaction is derived through friendship.[9]

The early Shinto religion of Japan is said to have contained phallic elements, traces of which linger in the popular customs.[10] This may account in part for the erotic features of Japanese literature. There are many amorous poems which express in the main the finer shades and external forms of love. More sensual are the romances. The first in order of time which we know is "Genji" by Murasaki no Shikibu, a lady of the court, written about A.D. 1000. It relates the love adventures of Genji, a son of the mikado and a concubine, and gives a picture of certain aspects of the morals of the time. Still more interesting in this connection are the works of Ibara Saikaku, who was the leader of the school of popular realism in the seventeenth century. He pictures the customs of the bordels, which constitute an important feature of the life of Japanese cities.[11] Japanese painting also is said to contain many erotic works.[12]

The recognition of sex reflected in this Oriental literature is expressed in a measure by the custom of early marriage. This custom is due in large part to the family system which demands numerous progeny, and the parental authority which arranges the marriages and wishes to have them consummated before the children grow old enough to rebel and choose for themselves. A recognition of the sexual need, which arises when puberty is attained and should be satisfied before long in both sexes if a normal life is to be led, has also had its influence.

The most striking and exaggerated example of all of these

[9] Arthur Waley, who has translated many Chinese poems, has discussed this subject in the introduction to his "170 Chinese Poems," London, 1918. He says that the poetesses usually write of the "rejected wife."

[10] See W. G. Aston, "Shinto (The way of the gods)," London, 1905.

[11] See W. G. Aston, "A History of Japanese Literature," New York, 1899. Aston, who was very religious and prudish, denounced "the pornographic school of popular fiction which disgraced Japan in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries." (P. 56.)

[12] See the works of the brothers Goncourt on Japanese art.

factors for early marriage is to be found in the Brahman marriage customs. Among most of the Brahmans and some of the higher castes, especially in southern India, pre-puberty marriage is the rule and post-puberty marriage is regarded as sinful, especially for the girls. This custom is based on the Hindu ideals that marriage is a "*samskara*" (religious duty), and that by placing an age limit all will be forced to marry; that the girls should love those whom they marry and not marry those whom they love; that early marriage not only makes the girl a partner in the life of her husband but also a member of his joint family before her character is formed, so that she becomes thoroughly assimilated to it; and that it safeguards the chastity of the women and insures the paternity of the children, so that the sacred blood of the Brahmans will not be tainted by an infusion of common blood. Several of these arguments for early marriage imply the sexual need, because they recognize that all should have sex relations, though it is sometimes alleged by Hindus as by many Christians that the purpose of sexual intercourse should not be pleasure.

The British authorities, wishing to maintain neutrality in matters of religion, recognized the pre-puberty marriages of the Brahman and other castes which practise it, and made post-puberty marriages among these castes illegal. In recent years social-reform ideas derived principally from the Occident have led some of the more progressive and heterodox Hindus to try to secure legislation prohibiting pre-puberty marriage. The obvious arguments against it are that it causes physical injury to the girls through premature sex relations and maternity; that it forces wifehood upon cripples, deaf-mutes, lepers, the blind, and others who are unfit for it; that it gives rise to infant and child widows who are often prohibited from marrying again even though they are still virgin; and that it is an impediment to female education. On the other hand, late marriage is becoming more and more a curse of the Occident, and compares in its evil effects

with the child marriages of India and certain other parts of the Orient.

I was strolling through a small village in Baroda, one of the most progressive of the native states in western India. Before a peasant's hut was going on a marriage ceremony. The groom was a lad of about eight, the bride still younger. A Brahman, over whose naked torso passed the sacred thread, was officiating. I did not ascertain the caste of the bride and groom. But pre-puberty marriage does not mean that sex relations begin at once. Moreover, not all of the castes marry before puberty. Reliable statistics on this point are not available. It is a significant fact that in spite of their early marriages the Brahmans have not been increasing, though the total population has been rapidly growing. In 1891 they numbered 14,891,732; in 1901, 14,893,258; in 1911, 14,598,472, and in 1921, 14,254,991. Thus the diminution of vigor and disease caused by premature sex relations nullifies the prospects of numerous offspring.

The attitude toward prostitution in the Orient is perhaps a better illustration than early marriage of the recognition of the sexual need, at any rate for men. Figures are not available to compare accurately the extent of prostitution in the East with the West. A survey of the situation indicates clearly that this ancient institution is more frankly and openly recognized in the Orient, and that prostitutes are not degraded and debased to the same degree by social scorn and contumely and by legal persecution. Needless to say, the effect upon the prostitute is to maintain or enhance her self-respect and to preserve if not to elevate her character by making her feel that she is performing a useful and therefore legitimate social function. In the Occident, on the contrary, the degrading and repressive treatment accorded her often drives her into the arms of the baser elements, to become the accomplice and consort of criminals.

In Tokio there are four districts in different quarters of the city devoted to prostitution. The principal one, known

as the Yoshiwara, from the quarter in which it is situated, covers a large area. Through the center runs a wide street beautified with trees and flower-beds and lined with tea houses and other places of entertainment. In the side streets are many hundred of bordels containing thousands of women. In front of most of the houses sits a man who endeavors to attract clients, ushers them into the reception-room, and assists in making the necessary business arrangements. All of this is usually conducted with a courtesy and formality which dignify the proceedings. Cleanliness and orderliness prevail, partly due to these national traits and partly to a careful police supervision. There are two or more such districts in Osaka, and similar conditions obtain in all of the Japanese cities. It is said that many girls serve for a time in these houses and then marry without losing their social status. Many of the geisha girls are said to be courtezans as well.[13] There are also a good many Japanese prostitutes in China, Malaysia, and other parts of the Pacific area.

In Peking there are two districts devoted to prostitution in the so-called "Chinese City" and similar districts in other parts of the city.[14] Many of the Chinese bordels contain sing-song girls who furnish their clients entertainment apart from sex relations. In most of the cities of China prostitution is

[13] According to the "Japan Year Book, 1924-25," in 1920 there were 50,435 prostitutes in Japan, of whom 2.57 per cent. were diseased. These figures probably include only the licensed prostitutes.

[14] According to a survey made by American missionary and social workers, prostitution in Peking has increased greatly since 1911. In 1919 there were 377 brothels and 3130 licensed prostitutes. The estimated total was 10,000, or one for every eighty-one persons, or one woman out of twenty-one, which was much higher than the estimated average in Europe or even in Japan. This was largely due to the great preponderance of male residents. (S. D. Gamble, "Peking: A Social Survey," New York, 1921.)

Marco Polo, who lived in Peking in the thirteenth century, alleged that there were 25,000 prostitutes in Kan-balu (Peking), and that courtezans were furnished free to members of foreign embassies. He also described the accomplishments of the prostitutes of Kin-sai (Hangchow), and stated that the king of Kin-sai was in the habit of observing naked damsels in his garden and lake.

not as closely regulated by the police as it is in Japan, and it is therefore probably not segregated to the same extent.

As I have already indicated, there is a certain amount of prostitution in connection with the temples in India which lends to the profession an almost sacred character. The temple woman is known as a *devadassi* or prostitute of the gods. There are segregated districts in Calcutta, Bombay, Madras, and other cities. Many of the Indian prostitutes are very young, as in other Oriental countries, some of them being hardly nubile. This is in harmony with the practice of early marriage which has been described. While it is difficult to generalize, it is possible that the Indian prostitute carries the art of love to the highest pitch of skill and of abandonment, the whole body being used to a greater degree than in the East Asiatic countries, where not even the kiss is customary.

There is, however, a reverse aspect to the recognition of sex in the Orient which should not be ignored. Mahatma Gandhi told me that he has adopted celibacy and that he considers it beneficial for him. Inasmuch as he married at an early age [15] and has four sons (whom, he said, he loves dearly), he has not always been celibate, and he did not tell me at what age he discontinued sex relations. He asserted that universal celibacy would be best for mankind. I asked him whether there would be any reason to deplore the resulting extinction of the human race. He replied that this would be a matter of no consequence, and that in the next reincarnation mankind would be all the better for having adopted celibacy in this life.

A leader of the Arya Samaj, a reformed Hindu sect, took me to visit their *gurukul* or school for boys and young men near Delhi. On a barren and rocky plain, remote from any other habitation but within sight of the ruins of earlier cities of Delhi, stands this institution where the inmates lead a

[15] In his weekly journal Gandhi states that he lived with his wife as such at thirteen years of age. ("Young India," January 7, 1926.)

MONKS BEFORE HOJO-IN, A BUDDHIST MONASTERY, KOYASAN, JAPAN

BULLOCK CART WITH PURDAH, JAIPUR, INDIA

A woman is peeping from beneath the purdah

simple and austere life under the direction of their *gurus* or spiritual guides. They come as children and stay until young manhood. During this vitally important formative period they are not permitted to visit their homes. No women are admitted within the precincts of the *gurukul*. Consequently, when a mother comes on a visit her son must go outside its boundaries to see her. Mrs. Sarojini Naidu told me that she and Mrs. Gandhi are the only women who have been permitted to visit the other *gurukul* of the Arya Samaj at Hardwar. I was also taken to see their girls' school at Delhi, which is a similar institution, except that men are permitted to visit it. When asked to address the students of the *gurukul*, I said that it is futile to make asceticism an end in itself. In replying to me, the leader of the Arya Samaj assented, perhaps out of courtesy, and then said that the students are learning *brahmacharya* (chastity in thought, word, and deed), and that it is better for them to turn their attention away from the other sex entirely until they are ready to marry and become householders, or better still for always, if they decide to devote themselves wholly to religion.

Asceticism has a long history and has existed to a certain extent among all peoples and in connection with nearly every religion. At certain times and places it has exercised an exceptional degree of influence, usually owing to the peculiar tenets of a particular religion. At least three principal factors have played their part in giving rise to asceticism. The first is the magical notion of the uncleanness of sex, whose origin I have described in another work.[16] The

[16] "Some features of the sexual function have aroused disgust as well as fear in man. This has been especially true of the flow of blood in woman at various crises of her life, such as the hymeneal flow in connection with puberty, the menstrual flow at the times of the periodic catamenial function, and the puerperal flow at parturition. Primitive man seems at any rate to have felt fear if not disgust towards blood. So that these features of the sexual function have played an important part in giving rise to the notion which is still more or less prevalent that there is something repellent and unclean about sex, especially in woman. The sexual taboos both of the past and of the present can be attributed to a large extent to this notion." ("Personality and Conduct," New York, 1918, p. 162.)

second factor is the attempt to propitiate deities by foregoing sexual pleasure in order to expiate sin and attain purification. The third is the desire to conserve sexual vigor in order to concentrate all energy upon a single pursuit, usually religion, more rarely intellectual or other pursuits. Thus has arisen the ideal of monasticism and of a celibate priesthood.[17]

In the Occident ascetic ideas have had much influence, principally through the medium of Christianity. In this religion the magical notion of the uncleanness of sex has combined with the desire to propitiate the deity by expiation and purification through chastity. The monastic ideal and a celibate clergy have characterized many Christian sects. Thus the ascetic ideal has played a prominent part in Christianity and has influenced greatly the regulation of sex down to the present day. Islam, on the contrary, has scarcely been touched by these ideas, probably owing to the character of its founder, and has never encouraged monasticism.

Asceticism has probably had less influence in the East, though its Oriental form is often very intense. The East Asiatic religions have apparently never been permeated with ascetic ideals. There is a good deal of austerity and some self-denial in the teachings of Confucius, in the older Taoism, and in the Japanese morality exemplified in bushido or the feudalistic chivalry of the Samurai military caste.[18] The austere

[17] "In all the religious orders in the world that have produced spiritual giants, you find the observance of intense chastity always insisted upon, and that is really why the order of monks came into existence, giving up marriage. Thus there must be perfect chastity, in thought, word and deed, if one is to become a real Yogi. For, without it the practice of Raja Yoga is dangerous, and may lead to insanity. Therefore, if people practise Raja Yoga and at the same time lead an impure life, they can never become Yogis." (Swami Vivekananda, "Raja Yoga," Calcutta, 1923, p. 62.)

[18] Nitobe enumerates rectitude or justice, courage, benevolence, politeness, veracity and sincerity, honor, loyalty, self-control, suicide (*hara-kiri*), redress (revenge), and the sword as the soul of the Samurai, as features of the code of bushido. He expresses the opinion that bushido can be merged into Christianity.

mysticism of Lao-tze is expressed in the following passage from the Tao-teh-King: "The riches of the self-controlled man are in the Inner Life. When he spends for others, he has more for himself. When he gives to others, he has much more for himself." Rarely if ever is there in these moral and religious teachings any suggestion of the suppression of sex which is the essential feature of asceticism. In so far as asceticism has influenced eastern Asia, it has done so mainly through Mahayana Buddhism, which introduced monasticism.

We have seen that Hinduism recognizes sex frankly and openly as a necessity and even a duty for the great majority. But it regards it as characteristic of a lower stage in the process of transmigration, which it visualizes in a very anthropomorphic fashion, so that in later reincarnations sexual desire should be overcome and surpassed. Both Hinayana and Mahayana Buddhism have exalted the monastic ideal, so that many parts of the Orient are overrun with monks who are or are supposed to be celibate. Owing to the inferior position of woman, religion in its loftier manifestations is regarded less as a vocation for her than for man, her place being in the home. Consequently, there are fewer nunneries in the East than in the West.

In the Orient asceticism is usually regarded as a means of acquiring religious merit by those peculiarly fitted for the religious vocation, but not as a discipline to be forced upon others, as is often the case in the Occident. Christian asceticism, on the contrary, has succeeded in attaching a certain amount of stigma to the sex relation *per se*, so that its legitimacy is usually admitted by the conventional standard of morality rather grudgingly only for purposes of reproduction, and not always even for that purpose. The principal founder

(I. Nitobe, "Bushido, the Soul of Japan," New York, 1905, tenth edition revised.)

On the other hand, Chamberlain asserts that bushido was unknown until about 1890, and that the word appears in no dictionary before 1900. (B. H. Chamberlain, "The Invention of a New Religion," London, 1918.)

and apostle of Christianity, the misogynist Paul, was largely responsible for this attitude toward sex.[19]

It is more difficult to decide whether there has been more prudery in the West or in the East. The frank recognition of sex would seem to indicate less prudery in the Orient. But the separation of the sexes and the seclusion of women render many forms of intercourse between men and women indecent which are not so regarded in the Occident. Thus the puritanism of the Arya Samaj reminded me of the puritanism of Old and New England. The professor of psychology in one of the imperial universities of Japan told me that he regards the Western style of social dancing as immoral. I replied that the Japanese custom of both sexes bathing nude together is considered indecent in Europe and America, and reminded him that moral codes are determined by custom and are therefore largely a matter of geography.

The close bodily contact between the sexes in Occidental social dancing is generally regarded as immoral in the Orient. And it doubtless is inconsistent with Western prudery and asceticism. But in the long run, for those accustomed to it, the waltz, the two-step, the one-step, the fox-trot, the tango, and the like serve in a measure to subdue as well as to stimulate sexually. They bring the sexes together in

[19] See the Pauline epistle, I Corinthians, VII, 1, 2, 32, 33, for a statement of the Christian attitude toward sex:

"It is good for a man not to touch a woman. Nevertheless, to avoid fornication, let every man have his own wife, and let every woman have her own husband. . . . He that is unmarried careth for the things that belong to the Lord, how he may please the Lord: but he that is married careth for the things that are of the world, how he may please his wife."

Keyserling asserts that Westerners are brutal and therefore need the ideal of chastity to restrain them, while Easterners recognize the naturalness of sex and that repression causes corruption. "That Chinaman who asserted that the real reason why the European professes the ideal of chastity is their immense brutality compared with the Asiatics was not so wrong after all." (H. Keyserling, "The Travel Diary of a Philosopher," New York, 1925, translated from the German, Vol. II, p. 198.)

It would be difficult indeed to measure the comparative amount of brutality in the East and West, so widespread is it everywhere. Hence I will leave the latter explanation of the origin of Occidental asceticism without comment.

rhythmic movements which promote an esthetic harmony between them. This form of intimacy can be enjoyed with many individuals of the opposite sex, and enlarges considerably the field of association between the sexes. In the East, on the contrary, almost the only intimate relation between them, outside of the conjugal relation, is coition. Oriental men may readily be sexually stimulated by association with Occidental women, because they are not accustomed to so much freedom of intercourse. They are therefore easily led to believe that such freedom necessarily gives rise to promiscuous and illicit sex relations.

The freedom with which men and women in Europe and America are seen together in public, meet in social gatherings, and mingle in their work and play seems indecent to the Oriental. Especially true is this of the mingling of the youths and maidens and the courtship and freedom of choice which ensue. Thus the Orient assumes a prudish attitude toward many forms of association between the sexes which are regarded as innocent in the Occident. This is matched by Western prudery with respect to the degree of bodily exposure practised in many Oriental countries, erotic literature, sexual symbolism in religion, and the like.

With respect to the double standard of sex morality, there can be little question that it is more frankly recognized in the Orient, and that consequently there is less hypocrisy in this connection than there is in the Occident. This is due primarily to the patriarchal system dominant in the East. The double standard has arisen out of the anatomical and physiological differences between the sexes with respect to reproduction, male sexual jealousy, and the economic dependence of women.[20] Under the patriarchal régime women

[20] "The fundamental factor in creating this double standard is the physiological dissimilarity of the sexes which makes sexual intercourse a much more serious matter for woman than for man, since it is very likely to result in pregnancy. It is therefore very important that she should not take this risk unless conditions are suitable for her to bear children. . . . The double standard has been greatly strengthened by the proprietary attitude displayed by men towards women. This

are subjugated to an excessive degree, and the difference in the amount of freedom accorded to the sexes is accentuated. Thus men acquire more and women less sexual liberty than in the West.

Christianity has preached a sort of single standard of sex morality for both sexes based on asceticism. In other words, it has endeavored to equalize the freedom of the sexes by restricting the male as narrowly as the female. This has been accepted in theory in a considerable part of Christendom. Inasmuch as it is based upon an ascetic doctrine contrary to the facts of human nature, it has failed in practice. The inevitable result from this divergence between theory and practice has been an enormous amount of hypocrisy. Islam has not fallen into this discrepancy. In Mohammedan countries the women who violate the narrow code of morality prescribed for them are severely punished, while the men are allowed a large measure of freedom.

In so far as woman has acquired greater freedom in the West, it has been due not to Christianity but to social and intellectual evolution. The economic changes of the last century or two have increased her independence greatly. Science has discovered effective contraceptive measures which enable her to control procreation and thus to eliminate the danger of unwanted pregnancies. By such means is a single standard of sex freedom being gradually approximated in the Occident, and only in a similar fashion can it be attained in the Orient as well. Until that time comes the double standard will be openly recognized and applied.

The foregoing survey indicates clearly that neither in the East nor in the West is sex recognized in a complete and

attitude is due in part to an innate sexual jealousy, but is largely artificial, since it has been encouraged by economic and other social factors." (Maurice Parmelee, "Personality and Conduct," pp. 169-70.)

The influence of economic conditions, and of the right of private property in particular, upon standards of sex morality is discussed at length in the following recent work: R. Briffault, "The Mothers: A study of the origin of sentiments and institutions," New York, 1927, 3 vols.

thoroughgoing manner. The Orient recognizes the sexual need for men fully, but not adequately for women except in connection with reproduction. In the Occident it is not adequately recognized for either sex. While the East recognizes the physical aspects of sex more frankly, the West recognizes and puts into practice a much wider range of relations between the sexes, including a degree of comradeship which is impossible in the Orient owing to the seclusion of women.

In the East there is little of the so-called romantic love which bulks large in the West. As a consequence, woman figures much less in Eastern than in Western literature, and there is much less of gallantry and chivalry toward women in the East. This lack is not resented by Oriental women, so that apparently these traits do not respond to an innate need, as is often alleged in Europe and America. The women receive their share of recognition as mothers and as the dominant factors in the home. Indeed, in certain parts of the Occident, as in America, gallantry and chivalry are carried to such an extreme that women acquire more rights and privileges than men, and many men slave at their work to maintain their women in idleness and luxury.

Far surpassing romantic love in importance stands what I have called the play function of sex, which is as yet scarcely recognized in the West and still less in the East.[21] Under this name may be subsumed the part played by sex in human life aside from its reproductive function, which is fully recognized everywhere. The play function includes not only the purely physical aspects of sex but its psychological aspects as well—namely, its effects upon the affective and intellectual life. Mankind stands as yet only upon the threshold of the recognition and understanding of this important function of

[21] I proposed this name in my "Poverty and Social Progress," New York, 1916, pp. 310-17; and described this function of sex at length in my "Personality and Conduct," Chapter IX, entitled "The Play Function of Sex." I have also discussed certain aspects of this subject in my book entitled "The New Gymnosophy," New York, 1927.

sex. Not until its far-reaching ramifications have been thoroughly studied and the results of this research have been embodied in the education of the young can the recognition and comprehension of sex attain their complete fruition in the life of both the Orient and the Occident.

Chapter X

ORIENTAL RECREATION AND SOCIAL LIFE

HINDU friends had offered to show me whatever I wanted to see in Delhi. Among other things I mentioned the night life. "There is none," they said. That evening we walked through many dark streets of India's capital, a city of over 300,000 inhabitants. Almost the only one which was lighted was Chandni Chauk (Silver Street), the principal thoroughfare. Apart from a few cinematograph theaters of Western origin, I saw no facilities for recreation. In a partially constructed building was going on a celebration in commemoration of one of the ten great *gurus* (spiritual guides) of the Sikhs. Though there was a certain air of gaiety about this ceremony, it was characteristically Indian in that it was religious.

While India is especially barren in this respect, the Orient in general has much less public recreation and social life than the Occident. One of the principal reasons for this difference doubtless is the seclusion of women. This institution excludes the larger part of one sex from most public forms of recreation. Social life is necessarily more private in its nature, being restricted largely to the home. This is true even of much of the social life outside of the home. For example, there is very little in the way of public eating in the Orient. Hotels and inns do not as a rule have dining-rooms, but the meals are served to the guests in their own rooms. Restaurants are divided up into small rooms and have screens and curtains by which to separate each party from the others. In fact, the visitor from the West comes to feel that it is almost improper if not indecent to eat in public.

It is hardly necessary to point out that what I have said with regard to the privacy of social life applies more particularly to the upper classes. The poor people usually have to live in narrow quarters where many persons are huddled together under conditions which render much privacy out of the question, and to eat whenever and wherever they can regardless of the proprieties. It applies more to city than to village life, because the seclusion of women is carried out most fully in the upper classes and in the cities.

The absence of a periodical day of rest affects considerably recreation and social life in the Orient. The hebdomadal week has existed at various times and places in different parts of the world.[1] But the Hebrew Sabbath, which through the spread of Christianity was universally adopted throughout the Occident, has not existed in the Orient, except to the slight extent to which it has recently been introduced from the West. This is true principally in Oriental ports where there is the closest contact with the West, and in Japan where it has to a certain extent been adopted. In the cities in the interior and in the rural regions throughout the East the Occidental Sunday is almost unknown. There are, however, more or less frequent festivals which correspond to the European and American holidays.

In China the half moon from the Chinese New Year to the Feast of Lanterns is a national vacation period, and there are a few other festival days. In Japan there are a number of religious, patriotic, household, and seasonal festival days. In India the diversity of religions gives rise to several schedules of festivals. Some of the Hindu festivals are in honor of the gods Shiva, Krishna, and Ganesh, the goddesses Durga (Parvati) and Lakshmi, and the beginning of spring and the vernal equinox. Among the Mohammedan festivals are those in honor of Mohammed, Husain, and Abraham, and at the close of the fast of Ramazan. The Parsees celebrate in honor of Zoroaster and at the new year. In Buddhist countries are

[1] See Hutton Webster, "Rest Days," New York, 1916.

festivals in honor of the last birth of Gautama, and at the new year. In Ceylon the coming of Buddha to the island is celebrated. Many other festivals in these and other Oriental countries could be mentioned.

It would be difficult to state how many festival days there are on the average throughout the Orient. It is probably considerably less than the fifty-two Sundays plus the national holidays of the Occident. To what extent this difference is compensated for by shorter hours and a more leisurely mode of work it would be impossible to estimate. A French observer in China has expressed the opinion that as there is no weekly day of rest, there is less effort to complete work by a specified time.[2] This may also be due to a weaker sense of the value of time. Many Western observers are of the opinion that Orientals labor less strenuously than Occidentals. However this may be, the lack of a periodical and uniformly observed rest day hampers in a measure the organization of means of recreation for the public at large.

So far as my observation goes, the theater is more varied and highly developed in Japan than elsewhere in the Orient. An excellent sense of comedy, especially of the grotesque, is displayed, and there is usually comic relief in connection with tragedy. Music and dancing are often utilized in connection with drama. Historical plays are much used. Mediævalism is even more prominent in the theater than in daily life. The knightly (Samurai) virtues of courage, loyalty, patriotism, *hara-kiri* (suicide by disembowelment), are extolled. The *No* drama, which was developed by the Samurai caste and is somewhat operatic in character, is still played occasionally with its simple scenery. The Kabuki style of drama, which was plebeian in its origin, is much more used.[3] It includes both historical and domestic pieces. There is not much treatment of present-day problems in the Western style

[2] E. Bard, "Chinese Life in Town and Country," New York, 1905, adapted from the French.

[3] Zoe Kincaid, "Kabuki, the Popular Stage of Japan," London, 1925.

—namely, in a critical and introspective manner. But Occidental influence is beginning to manifest itself in other ways. Actresses now appear on the stage where formerly feminine rôles were impersonated by actors.

A performance at the Imperial Theater in Tokio illustrates some of these points. The theater is built and furnished in European style, and contains several restaurants of different styles and prices. The performance began at about 4 P.M. and lasted until nearly midnight. It commenced with music and dancing, all of the performers being women. The musicians sat on a dais diagonally along the sides of the stage. The stage was filled with the beautiful colors of the costumes of the geisha dancers. They wore the full coiffure with their heavily greased hair bellied forth with the aid of large pins so as to give them a grotesquely macrocephalic appearance. Their faces and necks were disfigured with a thick daub of nasty grease, paint, and powder. There was little movement in their dancing, but much graceful posturing and pantomiming and elaborate use of fans and parasols.

The *pièce de résistance* of the evening was a long mediæval play depicting events at the court of an earlier mikado. The players, especially the actresses, repeated their lines in affected, almost falsetto tones. The Japanese language is liquid and flowing, with no gutturals, few aspirates, and many labials, so that usually it is beautiful to hear. Why do their actors whine and cringe, as it were, in their acting? Perhaps it is an attempt to emphasize by exaggeration. And yet the acting is often very effective and realistic. Toward the end of the performance came a comedy illustrating the influence of the West. A *nouveau riche* tries to imitate European manners, but becomes involved in an intrigue with a geisha girl. His son, who is dressed in European garb and has a better understanding of Western life, tries to help him out of his difficulties.

In a new Tokio theater furnished in European style I saw a musical comedy apparently copied in part from the West.

There was little exposure of the body, because mixed nude bathing deprives such exposure of the stimulation which it possesses in the Occident. The dancing and singing also were not of an Occidental nature. On the other hand, in Asakusa Park I visited a variety theater of the lower class which showed no indication of Western influence. As the ground was bare, the audience was seated on benches in front of an uncurtained stage. The program included instrumental music and singing, recitations by both men and women, and a slapstick comedy by a man and woman.

While dining in a restaurant in Nagoya, I inquired about a theater and was directed to a cinematograph. I insisted that I wanted to go to a real Japanese theater. After he had recovered from his surprise, the head waiter donned his street costume and very courteously accompanied me to its entrance. Having removed my shoes, for which I received a large wooden check, I entered the theater. The floor was divided into boxes with partitions about two feet high on top of which people could walk to their places. The balcony had a raised platform. As there were no chairs or seats whatsoever, I sat on the edge of this platform in order to avoid crippling my legs by sitting on them in Japanese fashion. The performance was a long melodrama containing many short scenes. It was full of murders, fights, a fire, an earthquake, and other lurid forms of tragedy interspersed with a certain amount of comedy.

The drama is said to have been introduced into China under Mongol rule in the thirteenth century and to have come probably from Tartar sources.[4] The Chinese theater is so remote from anything Occidental that it is difficult to judge it. The drama is usually played with practically no scenery and no curtain. The musicians sit on the stage and the attendants move about freely under the eyes of the audience. The players approach the front of the stage as their turn comes. Their elaborate and often grotesque dress and appearance usually

[4] H. A. Giles, "A History of Chinese Literature," New York, 1901.

render their rôles inexplicable to the foreigner. The absence of scenery frequently necessitates pantomime which is sometimes very realistic. The Chinese drama is said to cover a wide range of topics. A strong sense of the comic is often displayed. Until 1912 there were no actresses, and they do not as yet usually appear on the same stage with actors. In the audience the sexes sit on opposite sides of the theater, but this division is beginning to disappear. In the rural districts there are itinerant companies which are said to be much enjoyed by the villagers and peasantry.

In India the hand of religion weighs heavily upon the theater as upon almost every phase of life. In Calcutta I was invited to the leading Hindu theater by a well-known solicitor. The play was the story of the Ramayana epic slightly modernized by a dramatist whom I met at the theater. It was so sentimental that it would have been laughed off the stage in New York or London, Paris or Berlin. But the audience followed its every line with rapt attention. My host told me that he had seen it over thirty times and was not yet tired of it. The play depicted the adventures of the heroic Rama, the seventh avatar of Vishnu, and of his devoted wife Shita. There was little or no comedy, but many beautiful costumes and a nautch dance to relieve the eye.

The Indian theater is romantic and sentimental to an excessive degree. Only the religious sentiment deeply rooted early in life could render tolerable the constant reiteration of these tales of gods and goddesses. Were it not for a high degree of *naïveté* and an almost total lack of a sense of humor, they would not be acceptable even as fairy tales. The excessive interest in the two great epics, the Mahabharata and the Ramayana, has had a deadening and restricting influence upon almost all branches of Indian literature. The sacred literature —namely, the Vedas, Puranas, Shastras, Sutras, Smritis, etc.— have had a similar baneful influence upon science and philosophy as well as upon literature. The contrast between the infantile drama of India and the much more highly evolved

drama of China and Japan illustrates the fact often forced upon the mind of the traveler that the Mongolian has a much better balanced and more rounded personality than the one-sided Indian. While India has had famous dramatists in the past, the Indian stage of to-day does not give even the simple picture of the life of the people which it is the peculiar function of the theater to mirror.

Pantomime, both by animate and inanimate actors, plays an important part in Oriental drama. At Djokjakarta in central Java I witnessed a shadow show in which grotesque figures with huge beaklike noses were thrown on a screen. In the open air at Pegu on a moonlight night I was present at a *pwe,* the national amusement of the Burmans. In addition to music and dancing by both men and women, there were pantomimic clowning and a marionette show. The unspoken drama, in the forms of pantomime and mimicry, is often very expressive and can be developed to a high degree of skill. But it is obviously not as highly evolved as the spoken drama which can express far more feeling and especially ideas than the unspoken.

This use of pantomime is one of many indications that the Oriental theater is not so extensive and diversified as the Occidental. Practically every dramatic form used in the East is also represented in the West. In addition the Western stage presents a much more detailed and realistic picture of life. This is partly due to its material equipment, which is much richer than that of the Eastern stage. It is far more due to intellectual differences. The Western drama in its higher forms includes much introspection into human nature, keen analysis of the causes of social phenomena, and sharp criticism of the conditions under which mankind lives. The recent development of science is largely responsible for this type of drama, because it has freed the minds of many men and women to think fearlessly about these human and social phenomena and to express themselves frankly concerning them. Since this mental attitude is as yet little prevalent in

the Orient, it has not found expression in a psychological and social drama.

For all of these reasons the theater offers much fewer facilities for recreation as well as intellectual stimulus in the East than in the West. In 1924 Tokio, a city of 2,000,000 inhabitants, had twenty-eight regular theaters, and Osaka, with a little over 2,000,000, had twenty-six theaters. About the year 1920 Peking, whose population is probably in the vicinity of one million, had twenty-two theaters and eight mat shed theaters. As Oriental theaters are usually much smaller than the corresponding houses in Europe and America, their accommodations are proportionally more limited. The facilities for dramatic entertainment in the smaller cities and rural districts are still more limited, especially in India.

In recent years the West has sent a new form of entertainment to the East which bids fair to become as popular as it already is in its place of origin. The cinematograph is inexpensive and easy to transport. It reveals to the eyes of the Orientals the strange and wondrous Occident and furnishes them endless amusement. Consequently, there are already numerous cinema theaters in every large Oriental city, and they are rapidly spreading not only to the smaller cities and towns but even to the villages. In fact, it is not unlikely that the moving picture which came out of the West will do more than any other agency to accustom the Orient to public forms of recreation. It has already had a little influence in breaking down the seclusion of women, for its fascination attracts many women as well as men to seek an unwonted amusement and entertainment outside of the home.

The cinematograph is an admirable means of acquainting the Orient and the Occident with each other, and might serve as an excellent educational agency. Unfortunately, the imported and particularly the American films are giving Eastern peoples an almost wholly distorted view of Western life. Most of these films are either luridly sensational or sickeningly sentimental, so that they do not furnish a true pic-

THEATER STREET, KYOTO, JAPAN

ture of life as it is ordinarily led anywhere in the universe.[5] The comic pictures are undoubtedly the most innocuous, for they are bringing amusement and entertainment into many barren and monotonous lives, and can do little injury through being misunderstood, because the appreciation of humor is universal. When both the East and the West produce and exchange artistic pictures which depict truly their manners, customs, institutions, and the conditions under which they live, the cinematograph will be a powerful factor for promoting understanding and sympathy between these two great divisions of mankind.

While traveling in the Orient the constant effort to see and to understand what I saw was so exhausting that usually I was too tired in the evening to do anything serious. Means of recreation for foreigners were in most places very limited. Consequently, I drifted into the movies much more frequently than at home, where, indeed, I rarely ever visit them. Almost invariably I found myself looking at American films, for the United States has at present almost a monopoly of the Oriental market, which was acquired during the European war. In the large cities excellent and recently made films are often exhibited. In the smaller places and in remote districts they are usually old and inferior. In a small city in central Java I remember seeing an American film which looked antediluvian in comparison with those now being made. In this respect the situation is not unlike that in Europe and America.

The Orient, however, is beginning to make its own films. Japan already manufactures from a third to a half of what

[5] "We may fairly ask if life exists anywhere (certainly it does not exist in the United States) in such stereotypes as the moving-picture magnate uses in his films. Such conceptions as he invites the rest of the world to entertain about America may be exhilarating to the young, but they do not make for much straight thinking as between one nation and its neighbors. If, as I have suggested, the first clear result of the movies' conquest is a trade war, the second is this muddying of international thought." (Charles Merz, "When the Movies Go Abroad," in "Harper's Magazine," January, 1926, p. 163.)

it uses. In Kyoto I saw an excellent Japanese film which depicted graphically and with much humor the adventures of a country lad who goes to the city. While it was being exhibited a reader recited its story to the audience. The first Chinese films were being manufactured while I was in China. In Rangoon I saw a very badly made Indian film filled with gods and goddesss and their impossible exploits. Unless they can forget their deities for a time, the Indians are not likely to make good films.

In Peking there was no public park until a few years ago, when a part of the grounds of the Imperial Palace was opened to the public. Temple precincts have sometimes furnished urban dwellers breathing spaces. As a rule, gardens and other open spots in Oriental cities have been inclosed for the exclusive use of king and prince, nobleman and rich man. The cities have usually not been planned, but even when planned no space has usually been allotted for the rest and recreation of the populace. Most of the parks now in existence are due to Western domination or imitation of the Occident.

In eastern Asia the American amusement park has been copied. Asakusa Park, the "Coney Island" of Tokio, contains in addition to the popular Kwannon Temple many movies, variety theaters, peep shows, restaurants, and various mechanical devices for the entertainment of the plebeian and proletarian masses. The "New World" in Peking is a similar recent innovation, with pool- and billiard-rooms, movies, recitals by sing-song girls, cafés, peep shows, and the like. I visited a "New World" also in Shanghai, Canton, and Singapore, where there are many Chinese residents, and a similar amusement park in Weltevreden (Batavia), Java. This American influence has not yet reached India, where the populace is perhaps not sufficiently mirth-loving to appreciate it. In Hyderabad, in central India, a traveling circus camped for a night or two in the front yard of my hotel. In Tokio I visited a circus in a large and lofty tent with a full equipment of trained animals, acrobats, and clowns. I am not suffi-

ciently acquainted with the history of circuses to be able to state whether their origin is Eastern, Western, or both.

In sport and athletics the contrast between the Orient and the Occident is very marked. In the Butokuden (Hall of Martial Valor) in Kyoto I watched some of the historic Japanese sports. The *kenjitsu* (fencing) practice was about to begin. A large group of fencers wearing masks, gloves, short tunics, and with bare feet, filed in. Kneeling down they prostrated themselves on the polished floor before the shrine at the side of the hall. Then they squatted while waiting their turns. One by one a fencer would bow formally before another, thus inviting him to a bout, until several pairs were at work. The foil was of split bamboo, about four feet in length, with a hilt twelve inches long for a double grasp. They banged each other over the heads until the hall was filled with a terrific din of noise. There was a solitary little woman fencer who bowed before a man with a much longer reach from whom she was apparently taking lessons.

In another part of the hall several men were practising *judo* or *jujitsu,* the Japanese art of self-defense. They wore strong coats with a band around the waist. The edge of the coat is firmly grasped and by means of jerks, twists, and turns, which sometimes break bones, the opponent is violently thrown to the ground or mat. In an adjoining covered gallery archery was going on at the same time. All of this was reminiscent of the mediæval and martial sports of the Samurai caste.

Sumo or wrestling has become professionalized to a considerable degree. It is an ancient sport which was encouraged by feudalism. Thus we see that the national sports were martial in their origin and consisted largely of combats between individual fighters. I know of no organized game played by teams which was indigenous to Japan.

The Chinese recognized six arts—namely, ceremonial, music, archery, charioteering, writing, and mathematics. Of these arts archery and charioteering may be regarded as sports,

and were presumably military in origin. China was never as martial as Japan and probably for that reason has devoted little attention to sport.

Polo is said to have come to the West from India. It was not necessarily indigenous to that country, as it may have been imported or invented by some of its foreign conquerors. The pacific, pietistic, and somewhat inert Indian is not given to the rivalry and exertion involved in sport. Indeed, it is probably safe to say that Orientals in general are less disposed to engage in activity for its own sake than Occidentals.

It would be superfluous to describe the important part played by sport in the Occident, especially among the peoples of North European descent. Its origin there as elsewhere doubtless was largely military. Sport was and to a certain extent still is mimicry of and preparation for warfare. It has developed largely in the form of games in which numerous players organized as teams oppose each other. In recent times its military aspect has to a considerable extent been superseded by a recognition of its value for health and also for the discipline of character. The West may, indeed, be said to be possessed by an athletic complex as compared with the East.

Western sports are now being introduced into the Orient. At Waseda University in Tokio I saw an excellent baseball diamond and many enthusiastic players. In Hibiya Park I witnessed a scratch game in which some of the players were seriously impeded in their running by the national costume. In Kyoto and elsewhere I saw games after the American model. While baseball is far in the lead in popularity, many other sports have been introduced, including track and field athletics, football, tennis, golf, rowing, basketball, volley-ball, skating, skiing, and boxing. Some of them are being taken up by the women. The Japan Amateur Athletic Association is the central body which is trying to develop these sports and to establish standards of sportsmanship. Physical culture in

THEATER STREET IN CHINESE CITY, PEKING

the form of gymnastics and calisthenics has been introduced into many of the schools both for boys and for girls.

China has as yet adopted these sports much less than Japan. They exist principally in schools of Western origin. The American occupation of the Philippine Islands has introduced these sports on a very extensive scale. In 1913 was held the first Far Eastern Olympiad, which takes place every two years and includes Japan, China, and the Philippines. So far Japan and the Philippines have far surpassed China in their exploits at these international games.

British rule has introduced cricket into India, where, it is said, the Parsees were the first to adopt it, because they were in closest touch with their conquerors. In Bombay I attended championship matches between Hindu, Moslem, Parsee, and British teams. Thousands of enthusiastic and excited spectators were present, and the newspapers devoted long accounts to the games. Tennis also is played to a certain extent. India has not as yet displayed as much interest in Western sports as some of the Far Eastern countries, perhaps due partly to its tropical climate, but probably more on account of the psychological factors mentioned above. The Nationalist movement also may impede somewhat their introduction. So far it has been almost impossible to popularize them among the girls and women.

In the Occident social dancing constitutes one of the most popular forms of indoor recreation and an important aspect of social life. In the preceding chapter I have described how the seclusion of women and the relations between the sexes render it wholly impossible in the Orient. Until the status of women changes and the relations between the sexes become much more free, it cannot take its place as a recreation and a form of social life. Indeed, even exhibition dancing is not practised to the same extent and has not been developed in so great a variety of forms as in the Occident. I have already mentioned the part it plays in the Oriental theater.

It is also used for the private entertainment of guests in some Eastern countries.

A prominent banker in Osaka invited me to dine and to meet some of his colleagues. We gathered in a beautiful restaurant and were ushered into the rooms reserved for us, where we seated ourselves upon mats. Several women entered bearing small, low tables which were placed before us. Then they brought a long succession of Japanese dishes. While the food was being eaten they chatted and laughed with my host and his guests. As no one of the women could speak a European language, I was almost entirely excluded from the conversation. About half-way through the meal they appeared with a *samisen* (three-stringed guitar), a *koto* (thirteen-stringed lyre), other musical instruments, and fans and parasols, and sang and danced. At the close of the meal they continued this performance. These were geisha girls who furnish entertainment at every social function of any degree of distinction in Japan. While their ministrations were interesting and enjoyable, they effectually destroyed the serious conversation which I had hoped to have with these important bankers and business men.

In Seoul a group of Korean journalists invited me to dinner at a restaurant. Soon after we arrived several young girls appeared and sang and danced. When we seated ourselves at a long, low table heavily laden with food, all of the courses being served at once, they joined with us in partaking of the rich viands. Later they left us alone to discuss matters of mutual interest.

At Chinese social functions it is customary for sing-song girls to be present to furnish music and take part in the conversation. China, the most populous country in the world, presents the extraordinary spectacle of a land where not only social but also exhibition dancing is almost non-existent. Whether or not this has always been the case, I do not know. The custom of foot-binding for the women was doubtless

largely responsible for preventing the development of this art and means of entertainment and recreation.

The sacred dance is still used to a slight extent in the Orient. At Nikko is the most beautiful Shinto shrine in Japan, built as a mausoleum for Ieyasu, the founder of the Tokugawa shogunate in the seventeenth century, and Iemitsu, his grandson. At the annual festival in June a long procession passes down the broad avenue lined with stately cryptomeria trees. In addition to the priests and state dignitaries, musicians and dancers, the procession includes several hundred men clad as spearmen, bowmen, lancers, etc., representing the defunct Samurai caste and their retainers, thus making it a historical pageant as well as a religious ceremony. Just before it started, I saw in a pavilion before the Futawara temple a dancer with a grotesque mask performing the *kochiki odori*, a sacred dance said to be many centuries old. When the procession reached its destination at the Odabicho shrine, several male dancers performed the *azuma* dance in the presence of the imperial envoy. The *kagura* is danced at the most holy Shinto fanes, the Naigu and Gegu shrines at Yamada in the Ise peninsula.[6] At the Kasuga shrine in the great park in Nara several young girls attired in beautiful costumes are prepared to perform sacred dances for a financial consideration, thus very conveniently combining piety with business, as is often the case the world over.

One evening in Madura I watched a procession in honor of a god file out of the gloomy recesses of the great temple. It included Brahmans, elephants, musicians, torches, monkeys, portable shrines, and other paraphernalia of an Indian religious festival. After passing through several streets it halted, and a nautch girl attached to the temple danced before the shrine of the god while the bracelets on her arms, the bangles

[6] "Like the ancient Greek tragedies and the mystery plays of the Middle Ages, the drama in Japan was in its beginnings closely associated with religion. Its immediate parent was the Kagura, a pantomimic dance." (W. G. Aston, "A History of Japanese Literature," New York, 1899, p. 197.)

on her legs, and the bells on her toes jingled and tinkled. As the only foreigner present, I had been accorded a position in the front row of spectators. While her sinuous body went through the voluptuous movements of the dance in honor of her divine master, she smiled and cast friendly glances toward me for reasons which I will not attempt to conjecture.

These are random memories of scenes witnessed. They are similar to the reminiscences which an Oriental who visits the Occident takes back with him of choirs, pipe-organs, chanting, chimes, and the like. Whatever significance the dance may still have in Oriental religion, it is obvious that the sacred dance contributes very little to recreation and social life.

It is impossible to determine whether or not indoor games are played as much in the East as in the West. They are very prevalent in China and to a slightly less extent in Japan. Ma Chiang, or the sparrow game, which is said to be the most popular, has recently been introduced into the West. Chess is supposed to have originated in China, but is played differently in that country and Japan from its Western form. Gobang is a somewhat similar Chinese game which is also played in Japan. Card games are popular in China, probably because the Chinese are very fond of gambling, which, indeed, seems to be their favorite form of amusement. So far as my observation goes, indoor games are much more prevalent in China and Japan than they are in India. Needless to say, children have their indoor as well as outdoor games everywhere.

The preceding survey clearly indicates that organized means of recreation and social life in public are much more limited in the Orient than they are in the Occident. This is due partly to the seclusion of women and partly to a less complicated scheme of life. Whether or not this lack is fully compensated by Eastern home life it would be impossible to say without an intimate knowledge of the Oriental home, which it is difficult for the stranger to acquire. Such a question involves the consideration of psychological and social

phenomena too intangible and imponderable in their character to be accurately measured. Whether or not a less complicated life enables the Oriental to retain a closer touch with nature is another difficult question which I shall discuss in the following chapter.

Chapter XI

ATTITUDE TOWARD NATURE AND THE ARTIFICIAL LIFE

THE past century of invention has caused a tremendous change in the material aspects of Occidental life. Most of the things now produced are manufactured by machinery run by steam, gas, electricity, or other form of power not directly resulting from human labor. Hence the volume of products has enormously increased. The railway, steamship, and aëroplane have greatly accelerated transportation, while the telegraph, telephone, and wireless have rendered possible instantaneous communication over long distances. Almost every phase of the domestic life of nearly every Occidental people is carried on with the aid of a vast number of appliances which were unknown a century ago. These changes have resulted in increasing greatly the population of the West and of concentrating a much larger proportion of it in cities. Consequently, this population has been almost entirely separated from natural surroundings and its existence rendered much more artificial in the sense that its life is conditioned and controlled by a multiplicity of things which do not exist in nature but which have been made by man.

While the Occident has been passing through this sudden transformation the Orient has remained unchanged, except to the comparatively small degree that it has been influenced by the West. At first sight, therefore, it would appear that the East must be in closer touch with nature and its life less artificial than that of the West. Climatic conditions also lend plausibility to this view. The warmer regions are more conducive to a life close to nature and less artificial than are the

colder regions. Occidental culture originated in the Mediterranean area, which is only partly subtropical, and developed in Europe and North America entirely in the temperate and cold zones. Indian culture evolved almost wholly under tropical conditions. Chinese culture probably evolved in large part in the temperate zone, but southern China is subtropical and tropical. Japan is entirely in the temperate zone, but its culture bears internal evidences of being partly tropical in its origin.

This question is not so simple as it appears at the outset to be. Several aspects of life have to be considered before an answer can be hazarded, and even then it can be only tentative and not categorical. A cursory survey alone is sufficient to indicate that the attitude of men and women toward nature and the extent to which their life becomes artificial are determined not only by the material conditions under which they live but also very greatly by their ideas, beliefs, customs, manners, and institutions. These psychological and social factors, intangible and yet powerful, may render the life even of a so-called primitive folk highly artificial in the sense that it is far removed from that of mankind in a state of nature—namely, where its behavior is determined entirely by its original traits uninfluenced by culture.

In attempting this comparison between the East and the West I shall discuss clothing and the exposure of the body, certain of the fine arts, religious beliefs with respect to the supernatural, philosophic and scientific ideas concerning man's place in nature, the relation to the animal world, diet and temperance, housefurnishings, the attitude toward work and leisure, and formal courtesy.

Man is not only an unclothed animal but lacks a hairy pell, so that in all probability he was originally a denizen of a warm region where fur was unnecessary. Owing to migration or climatic changes he became a dweller in colder regions where clothing is necessary as an artificial adjustment to the environment. The great variability of dress proves con-

clusively that modesty with respect to nudity is artificial, for if there were an instinct of modesty it would manifest itself more or less consistently in covering the same parts of the body always and everywhere. On the contrary, modesty applies to diverse parts of the body among different peoples and at different times. It has applied to the face, the back of the head, the top of the head, the breasts, the navel, the genital region, the buttocks, and the feet. It may be concentrated upon one part of the body only or be distributed with varying degrees of strength over several parts. In the same community and during the same period of time it may apply under certain conditions, and under other conditions disappear to such a degree that even complete nudity is not regarded as immodest.

There is a widespread belief that in one Oriental country there is, or until recently was, no artificial modesty with respect to nudity. This belief is based upon numerous accounts by travelers since the opening of Japan to foreigners nearly seventy-five years ago. According to these reports it was customary for the sexes to bathe together in the public bathhouses and also to bathe in each other's presence at home.[1] There is no evidence that there has ever been the habitual practice of nudity. On the contrary, Japan presents an example of its toleration under certain circumstances, but of the strict requirement of dress at all other times. It is similar to the mixed bathing in certain parts of Europe in the Middle Ages, and the male nudity in athletics in ancient Greece.

According to Japanese convention, the body should ordinarily not only be fully clothed but even the lines of the

[1] Finck describes mixed nude bathing in the cities and more or less nudity in the villages at the time of his visit. (H. T. Finck, "Lotos-Time in Japan," New York, 1895, chapter entitled "Nudity and Bathing," pp. 286-97.)

Stratz visited Japan in 1892, and states that he saw no public baths in the street, but that the sexes mingled nude in the public bath-houses and when bathing at home. He describes a disrobing dance performed by four girls, one of whom was the daughter of his host. (C. H. Stratz, "Die Körperformen in Kunst und Leben der Japaner," Stuttgart, 1902.)

figure should be concealed. Consequently, the Japanese often consider Occidental dress indecent; especially décolletée feminine garments which reveal the lines of the bust and hips. Contact with the West, resulting in imitation of Occidental manners and morals, is gradually stamping out mixed nude bathing, just as it has influenced Japan in many other ways.[2] While traveling about the Island Kingdom, I have observed great variability as to the strength of this custom at the present time.

In Tokio I bathed in one of the public municipal baths where the sexes are separated by a high wooden partition. An elderly man sat at the end of the partition where he could look into each section and dispense towels and soap to both sexes. A young girl was circulating around the men's section furnishing baskets for their clothing. This bath is more or less characteristic of the public baths in the large Japanese cities. Privacy is not very rigorously enforced. The doors are often left somewhat ajar so that glimpses may be obtained from the street both of the men and the women bathing within.

In my Tokio hotel there are both Japanese and European baths, and the native baths are used by the men and women together. The same is true in hotels which are entirely Japanese in style in which I stayed in other cities. In several of them the maid assisted me to disrobe.

In the island of Kyushu I spent some time at a popular hot springs resort which is little frequented by foreigners. Here I bathed in an establishment where the sexes disrobed in the same room and bathed together. However, I observed gestures and other signs of false modesty on the part of some of the bathers of both sexes, which indicated that they have already been influenced by Western moral ideas.

In several villages I visited small baths used by all of the villagers in common. In the country in hot weather the men

[2] According to Black, an early visitor, as a result of criticisms by foreigners a general law against nudity was enacted as far back as 1872. (Cited by Finck from Black's "Young Japan.")

work clad only in a loin cloth. On a few occasions I noted a woman in the fields naked to the waist.

These bathing customs are to be explained in part by the fact that the Japanese culture is of tropical origin transplanted into a temperate climate and only partially adapted to that climate. The houses are flimsy structures of wood and paper ill fitted to keep out the cold of winter. One of the chief methods of keeping warm is to soak the body in hot water, thus accumulating enough heat to repel the cold for a time. As the means for heating water are scanty in most dwellings, and consequently hot water is expensive, the same water is used by numerous individuals both in the private houses and in the public baths. As the houses are small and the space limited, privacy is difficult and not rigorously enforced with respect to bathing. These conditions have encouraged the persistence of bathing customs which probably arose originally among the aboriginal inhabitants in connection with the numerous hot springs. Thus the love for hot baths early acquired has carried along with it the custom of mixed nude bathing.

The same is true of the robe or kimono which is the characteristic feature of both masculine and feminine dress. This is of tropical provenance, since the typical costume of cold regions consists of coat and trousers. The concealment of the lines of the body has probably accentuated the singular lack of appreciation of the human form displayed by the Japanese. This is particularly true of the feminine garb, which not only conceals but distorts in a very distressing manner the appearance of the body.

The feminine girdle or obi is much wider and of heavier material than the masculine, and is worn with a complicated knot behind. This spoils the line by creating a hump in the small of the back. It is most distressing in cold or rainy weather when mantles are worn, for then every woman looks like a hunchback. It is hot and uncomfortably heavy, and the heat is concentrated in the back instead of in front where

it is much more needed. While it may not cause as much injury as the corset, it deforms the appearance even more than the most objectionable features of Western dress.

Other grotesque and disgusting habits of Japanese women are the coiffure and use of grease and paint. The hair is liberally greased, and then with the aid of combs and pins is distended in every direction, thus giving an offensively macrocephalic appearance to the head and minimizing unduly the significance of the features. The face and neck are greased, painted, and powdered. Consequently, anything coming into contact with neck, face, and head is soiled by this filthy mixture. At night the back of the neck is placed on a wooden head-rest in order to avoid disturbing the elaborate coiffure and soiling a pillow, thus giving the woman a posture not conducive to the most restful slumber.

While artificially induced deformations are common among primitive folk, I know of no civilized people whose women deliberately disfigure themselves by means of their apparel so much as the Japanese. It is all the more singular to contemplate when one remembers that the Japanese display a very delicate appreciation of certain aspects of nature. Fortunately, the women are rapidly abandoning their coiffure and grease-paint, and are adopting what are in this regard the saner Western customs.[3]

The fact that the nude figure is almost non-existent in Japanese art indicates that they have little or no perception of the esthetic significance of the human body. Finck says that religion may be partly responsible, because Buddhism inculcates contempt for the body. He thinks it is due principally to "the traditional eagerness of these artists to paint the kaleidoscopic patterns and colors of the kimonos—the gorgeous dresses of their women—which afforded them an endless variety of patterns and tints." [4] While he may have

[3] I believe that the coiffure and grease-paint are now most consistently used by two professions—namely, actresses and prostitutes, for whom an artificially made up appearance and expression often have utility.

[4] H. T. Finck, *op. cit.*, p. 296.

exaggerated this factor, it illustrates the excessive artificiality of Japanese art which can occupy itself with dress, however beautiful in itself, and yet ignore the human features and body.[5] Greek art was incomparably superior in its natural presentation of the body, and the same can be said of some of the Renaissance and modern Occidental art. In the Imperial Museum at Kyoto and elsewhere I saw ancient wooden statues of deities whose faces have a grotesque and terrifying aspect. But in the carving of their bodies human anatomy has often been depicted with skill and fidelity. This indicates that when they choose to do so the Japanese can observe accurately and give lifelike representations.

The Japanese artists are beginning to be influenced by Western art. In the spring of 1925 I saw at Ueno Park, Tokio, an exhibit of contemporary art which showed this influence unmistakably. There were several nude statues, both male and female, and a few paintings of the nude. One of the sculptures was of a male and a female figure in an embrace. This would have been both unesthetic and indecent according to the older canons.

The Japanese have an excellent opportunity to combine the best features of their dress with those of European dress. They will probably throw this opportunity away. Combinations are often to be seen, but they usually display no intelligent discrimination. For example, the flowing kimono hampers the freedom of the lower limbs. And yet the lower part of the native garb in the form of a skirt is often combined with the upper portion of Western dress, as in the costume worn by many of the school-boys.

A Japanese lady, who at the moment was in her native garb, was saying that she preferred European dress, and was criticizing her costume on account of the weight and ex-

[5] Stratz thinks that the Japanese, like all Mongols, totally lack an esthetic appreciation of the beauty of the human body. (C. H. Stratz, "Die Rassenschönheit des Weibes," Stuttgart, 1903, third edition, pp. 86-87.)

WEDDED ROCKS, FUTAMINOURA, JAPAN

A popular scenic resort

NATURAL HOT SAND BATHS, BEPPU, JAPAN

cessive warmth of the obi. I agreed with her concerning the obi, but pointed out the obvious fact that she had already deformed her feet almost as much as white women by the use of European boots and shoes.

This situation is due in part to certain psychological factors. Even more than most peoples the mind of the Japanese is mechanical and unyielding in its devotion to convention. Consequently, when they imitate anything, they usually do so "lock, stock, and barrel," and swallow along with it all of its conventions and other encumbrances. Thus the Tokio police have been known to occupy themselves with the colossally important question as to the degree of décolletage permissible when Japanese women wear European dress—not unlike the police in certain American and European countries.

These traits also lead to an extreme degree of regimentation and suppression of individuality, though perhaps not more so than in certain Occidental countries. In view of these mental traits, the Japanese are not likely to develop a society in which there would be freedom to practise nudity and to vary widely in matters of dress. Certain recent events illustrate this situation very well. In spite of their fondness for bathing indoors, the Japanese have scarcely used at all their lengthy coast for sea-bathing, perhaps because sea-water feels cold in comparison with the very hot water used indoors. Within the last few years sea-bathing has been introduced, mainly as a result of imitation of Europeans. Here was an excellent opportunity to practise nudity under the most natural conditions. But the opportunity was wasted, for along with the sea-bathing came the European bathing costume, which is now universally used.

There is a movement in a few Western countries which indicates that the practice of nudity has great value for health and comfort, for communion with nature, for normal and satisfactory relations between the sexes, for the education of the young, for esthetic enjoyment, and for the evolu-

tion of a democratic and humanitarian social organization.[6] Even though the Japanese tolerate nudity in connection with bathing, they utterly ignore its value for these important purposes. It is, indeed, a deeply regrettable fact that they are losing in the main a remarkable and almost unique opportunity to combine the best that there is in Oriental and Occidental culture. Otherwise, their bathing customs might furnish the germ for one such combination.

In China and Korea the seclusion of women has broken down in a measure only within the last two or three decades. It still persists in the home life, though women appear unveiled and move about more or less freely in public. Under conditions of seclusion no such bathing customs could arise as in Japan, where women have never been secluded to the same degree.

The Korean women wear a bodice similar to the Indian, thus revealing a portion of the upper part of the body. The Chinese men and women reverse the Western style, the women often wearing trousers and the men long robes. The Chinese woman of the upper class uses cosmetics on her face, more than European women, but less than her Japanese sister. On the other hand, the bound feet, now happily disappearing, constitute the most horrible deformation ever practised extensively by a civilized people.

In the villages I caught a glimpse occasionally of a woman at work naked to the waist. As a general rule the Chinese woman is fully clad. The Chinese coolie wears little more than a loin cloth in hot weather. Many small shopkeepers and others belonging to the lower middle class often sit in their shops and offices unclad to the waist, with the ubiquitous fan in hand.

The Chinese have resisted Western influence more than the Japanese. And yet those who serve the white man cannot

[6] Maurice Parmelee, "The New Gymnosophy: The Philosophy of Nudity as Applied in Modern Life," New York, 1927. I have described and discussed the above-mentioned movement in this book.

escape his influence. In Peking on hot days my rickshaw coolie would remove his shirt while I was indoors. When I appeared he would hastily don it. Several times I tried to induce him to pull me without it. But he had learned his lesson too well. He knew that it is not respectful to serve a white person when not decently clad.

Like their Japanese brethren, the Chinese show no esthetic appreciation of the human body. It rarely ever appears in the nude in their art, and then almost invariably in a grotesque and fantastic form. While much of their art is grotesque and unrealistic, this is peculiarly true of their treatment of the human figure.

The body is exposed in public to a greater degree in India than in any other civilized country. The men of the laboring and peasant classes usually wear no more than a loin cloth or *dhoty,* which is a long cotton cloth wrapped around the waist and then passed between the legs. Even in the upper classes the men are often naked to the waist. This may be due in part to vanity, because they wish to display the "sacred" thread worn over the shoulder and across the chest by the three upper castes who are "twice-born." This thread protects its wearer against evil influences, because it has been sanctified by the blessings of Brahmans and the reading of sacred texts over it.

The bodice of the Indian woman is often very exiguous and barely covers the breasts. The *sari* is a sheetlike mantle which covers the lower half of the body and, if a bodice is worn, usually comes up over the head. Among the lower classes the bodice is often omitted. Then the *sari* constitutes the only garment of the wearer, and a corner of it is pulled over one shoulder but usually hides very little of the breasts. In the villages she is often naked to the waist. Both sexes usually go barefoot, especially the women. The Indian woman, especially in the south, is much addicted to jewelry. In fact, she is often the peripatetic treasure house of her family. Toe-rings, anklets, bells, bracelets, ear-rings, and nose-rings

are some of the ornaments she affects. The most objectionable are the jewels, often of considerable size, fastened to the nose, which seriously mar the appearance of her face.

Ritual bathing, which is one of the most characteristic features of Hindu religion, has probably influenced the dress of both sexes to a certain extent. Rivers and springs are supposed to be inhabited by spirits which are usually benignant. By bathing in them moral if not physical cleanliness is acquired. Consequently, the Hindus, especially the men, try to bathe every day in flowing water in the open. While this is not usually done in complete nudity, it causes a good deal of familiarity with the appearance of the body. Therefore, it is not considered so essential that clothing should cover the whole body.

Until nudity in public was prohibited by British law, various kinds of ascetics and other religious devotees lived habitually naked. Nudity has always been regarded in India as a sign of peculiar sanctity. About the year A.D. 80 there took place in the Jain sect a schism between the Svetambaras (white-clad) and the Digambaras (sky-clad or naked). Whether the Digambaras still practise nudity I do not know. Nudity has also been used in India, as in many other countries, in connection with various magical rites, such as rain-making. For example, one form of this rite in northern India is for the women to go into the fields at night, remove all of their clothing, and plow for a time while invoking the rain god to send rain and thus permit the regular plowing to continue.

Most of what has so far been said applies in particular to the Hindus. The Moslems of India, however, owing in part to the Semitic origin of their religion, cover the body much more carefully. While many of the Mohammedan laborers and peasants wear no more than their Hindu fellows, the Moslems of the upper classes usually wear trousers and coat. Inasmuch as most of the Mohammedan women are secluded behind the *purdah*, there can be no question of exposure

on their part. In certain parts of northern India the Hindu women also live behind the *purdah,* but this does not apply to the majority of Hindu women when India is taken as a whole. As I have already pointed out, wherever the *purdah* exists it applies in particular to the women of the aristocratic and upper classes, but to a much less extent to the women of the lower classes.

In Burma, where the Mongolian influence is strong, both sexes are fully clad in the cities. As in other countries, there is more exposure of the body in the rural districts. The contrast between India and Burma in this regard is strikingly manifest in Rangoon, where there are many Indian immigrants.

Most of the inhabitants of the Malay States and of the East Indies are Moslem. Islam rests lightly on the Malay peoples, whom it has only partially conquered. Consequently, the seclusion of women has not been prevalent among them. In Java the men as well as the women are usually fully clad in the cities, owing to the Dutch rule. In the villages it is not uncommon for the women as well as the men to be naked to to the waist.

In all of these Oriental and tropical countries there is a serious obstacle in the way of the observation of these conditions, especially in the rural districts. When they see white folk approaching, the native women will often hastily cover exposed portions of the body. This is due in part to the fact that they have discovered that the whites consider the human body indecent. It may also be due to magical notions as to evil influences emanating from these alien and perhaps hostile folk, against which clothing may furnish some protection. In India the women will sometimes go so far as to shield the face from the foreigner. This is most likely to happen in the regions where the institution of the *purdah* still has influence. It is probably due in part to fear of the "evil eye" which the stranger is likely to possess.

This brief survey indicates that, in view of the changes

now taking place in the Japanese bathing customs, India is the Oriental country which is most likely to carry on the tradition of the free exposure of the body, thus opposing the prudish and artificial standard of modesty now being instilled into many Orientals by Westerners. Otherwise, the more natural and healthy attitude toward the body in the Orient is in danger of disappearing.

With respect to fashion, the contrast between East and West is extraordinarily marked. A style decreed in Paris is within a few weeks seen on the streets of San Francisco and Sydney, of Cape Town and Constantinople. Not so in the Orient, where each country has its own distinctive costume or costumes which change very slowly, so that fashion can hardly be said to exist. As all Western countries have the same cultural origin, they are dominated by uniformity, but with constant change especially in feminine dress. The East, on the contrary, with its varied cultural origins, is characterized by a great diversity of national costumes which are very stable. In neither region is there much latitude for individual variation.

If Occidental fashions were determined by health, comfort, and beauty, they could not change with lightning speed. As they are governed largely by the commercial greed of dressmakers and tailors and the whims of the leaders of fashionable society, they are artificial in the worst sense of the term and cannot be adjusted to the great variety of climatic conditions under which they are worn. The national costumes of the Orient came into existence more naturally, and are more or less adjusted to climate. But they also often violate hygienic and esthetic canons. The elaborate headdress of the Manchu woman and the absurd hat of the Korean man have neither beauty nor utility. The Indian woman winds her *sari* so tightly around her abdomen as to cause a deep stricture. Both in the East and in the West clothing is constantly worn when the temperature does not require it, thus putting an unnecessary artificial barrier between the human body and

the beneficent forces of the air, light, and sun. This is one of the most striking illustrations of the fact that nowhere has mankind yet realized that it is a part of nature. The same fact is demonstrated again and again in the fine arts to which I shall now turn.

In its origin Japanese art was Buddhistic and Korean, which in turn came from China under the Han dynasty (206 B.C.-A.D. 251). China was at that time under the influence of Indo-Grecian art through Mahayana Buddhism, so that Japanese art represents in a measure a blending of the principal factors in Oriental art. Hoshin Kuroda, an authority on its history, has made the following suggestive comparison between the fundamental traits of Japanese and Occidental art: [7]

1. Its materials are of vegetable much more than of animal or mineral origin. In architecture and sculpture wood is used almost exclusively. Hence Japanese houses and statues are characterized by a grace and delicacy which are more difficult to attain when stone or metal is used. The art of decoration by lacquer is also characteristic of Japan.

2. The subjects are taken from nature rather than being human objects. Japanese pictures are usually of landscapes, flowers, and birds. Even in scrolls depicting historical subjects, manners, and customs, the human objects are subordinated to the features taken from nature. Portraits are very rare. Engraved human figures also are rare, and designs in the applied arts are usually inspired by themes derived from nature.

3. Japanese artists emphasize line rather than perspective or light and shade, so that their style is idealistic rather than realistic. In religious works of art in particular their imagination is almost unbridled, so that the results often are grotesque and unnatural to an extreme degree.

4. The idealistic style inevitably gives rise to symbolism and a conventional rather than an individualistic manner

[7] "Dai Nippon Bijutsu-shi" (History of Japanese Art), 1922.

of treatment. Thus works of the same school are singularly alike. The images of Buddhist deities are of fixed patterns. The architecture of Buddhist temples and of Shinto shrines is of a uniform type in each case.

5. Japanese art has great external beauty but little internal depth. It is highly decorative but has little utility. Thus a pagoda, however graceful it may be, is a fantastic development from a stupa which was originally a burial monument but which has no meaning now. The decorative art is carried to a high pitch in lacquer, cloisonné, inlaid objects, and in picture scrolls.

As I have already indicated, the West is influencing Japanese art considerably. This influence began through the Dutch traders who brought some paintings in the seventeenth century. Since the opening of Japan to foreigners, many artists have visited Europe and America or have studied Occidental methods at home. They have found this study an excellent training even when they have reverted to the native style, because Western art requires a knowledge of human anatomy and an accuracy of depiction of objects in nature which far exceeds anything in Oriental art. But the native art still stands far higher than Occidental art in popularity and in the public esteem.

Like most Oriental music, Japanese music is very simple compared with its Western counterpart. A thousand years or more ago was introduced from China and India the *gagaku* or so-called elegant music, which was very complicated and played by large orchestras. This has disappeared and is played only as classical ceremonial music at the imperial court. The *utai* is a somewhat monotonous vocal music which accompanies the *No* dance and is used among the upper classes. The *zokugaku* or people's music is widely used. Its most common form is vocal accompanied by the samisen or three-stringed guitar. One of my most vivid memories of Japan is of the silvery-toned, slowly played samisen often heard in the evening. Other musical instruments are the *koto* or

lyre, the *shakuhachi* or bamboo oboe, and the *biwa,* or lute. In the Orient there are no such elaborate instruments as the piano and the pipe organ on which complicated music can be played.

Most of what has been said of Japanese art applies also to Chinese art. There is greater use of stone in architecture and sculpture. There is more that is grotesque and less that is decorative in Chinese art. But in their idealism, symbolism, indifference to the human figure, and preference for objects taken from nature, the two national systems of art are much alike. The conventionality of Chinese art is perhaps even more pronounced. The high place given to calligraphy as an art is an excellent illustration. In both China and Japan I have often seen specimens of fine writing hung upon the walls of rooms for purposes of decoration. In fact, in the six arts recognized by the Chinese—namely, ceremonial, music, archery, charioteering, writing, and mathematics—painting and sculpture are included under writing. This is reminiscent of the fact that the written characters still used were derived more or less directly from pictographs.

I have already indicated that love seldom appears in Chinese poetry, partly because of the subordinate position of women, and the same is true to a lesser extent of Japanese poetry, while friendship is often extolled. Much of this poetry is devoted to a description of nature. The following poem, translated by Arthur Waley, is by Chan Fang-sheng, a Chinese poet of the fourth century A.D.:

Cliffs, that rise a thousand feet
Without a break,
Lakes that stretch a hundred miles
Without a wave, white
Sands that are throughout the year
Without a stain,
Pine-tree woods, Winter and Summer
Ever green,
Streams that forever flow and flow

Without a pause,
Trees that for twenty thousand years
Your vows have kept,
You have suddenly healed the pain of a traveler's heart
And moved his brush to write a new song.

This poem is realistic in the sense of being minutely visual, but is lacking in feeling and passion. As an American critic has said: "Art is to the Chinese and the Japanese artist something two-dimensional. It is a beautifully lacquered, a beautifully colored, or a beautifully woven surface. And as the artist will have nothing to do with a third dimension, so the poet will not hear of a fourth dimension." [8]

The upshot of this brief survey is that no sweeping generalization can be made as to the attitude toward nature displayed by Far Eastern as compared with Occidental art. While objects from nature play a prominent part in this Asiatic art, man is in the main ignored. And yet mankind also is a part of nature, and the human body is the natural object closest to and of the greatest importance for mankind. So that this is a singular omission indeed. Even the features of the face, the most obvious and expressive portion of the body, are largely ignored. When expression is given to the face, characteristic features are usually so accentuated as to constitute a caricature. No Oriental country has as yet produced a Rembrandt or a Rodin.

Every art at all times and places has a tendency to become conventionalized except when under the impetus of forces which are producing new forms. Its idealism and symbolism tend to emphasize the conventionality of Oriental art and to rob each of its products of an individuality of its own.[9]

[8] P. A. Hutchison, in "The New York Times," June 12, 1927.

[9] Many writers have commented on the conventionality of Oriental art, from whom I will cite the following:

"Oriental art is highly conventionalized and does not strive to be realistic, while Occidental art approaches exactness in reproduction." (C. Wissler, "Man and Culture," New York, 1923, p. 233.)

"Chinese painting as we know it shows not an evolution but an up-and-down

So that while nature in many of its varied moods appeals strongly to Oriental artists, they are unable to reproduce it and to bring it home to their public with the skill of their Western colleagues. It is therefore difficult to say whether or not Oriental art reveals a greater or deeper appreciation of nature. Perhaps the most that can be said is that Occidental art displays a wider range in its treatment of objects taken from nature.

Indian art is, as one of its students has written, "a by-product of religious emotion." Mrs. Sarojini Naidu said to me that the Hindus are not esthetic because they are very religious and ascetic. This judgment, by one of their most distinguished representatives, is perhaps too severe. But there can be no question that their art, like most phases of their culture, is deeply tinged with religion. Its history began in the main with the Mauryan Emperor Ashoka (274-237 B.C.), the ardent patron and propagandist of Buddhism, so that in its early stages it was largely Buddhistic. It was also affected considerably by Persian and Hellenic influences. Several styles of architecture were developed and there was a good deal of sculpture in stone. After the defeat of Buddhism, there was a period of decay until Indo-Mohammedan art began about A.D. 1200. Thus each phase has been more or less closely related to a religious cult.

Some of the decorative arts have been developed to a high degree, such as metal work, pottery, carving, jewelry, weaving, embroidery, and dyeing. The artistic skill of the craftsman is largely due to the hereditary character of his trade. Most of these crafts are monopolized by castes, so that the son must follow the occupation of his father, and custom and to a certain extent religion force him to imitate his father's

of fashions for more than a thousand years on end; and this unsteadiness must have set in as early as the Han period. The final result is that endless industrious repetition of a stock of fixed forms which we see to-day in Indian, Chinese, and Arabian-Persian art." (O. Spengler, "The Decline of the West, Form and Actuality," New York, 1926, p. 295, translated from the German.)

work. Consequently, while great technical skill is displayed, there is little creative ability.

In architecture also tradition has been closely followed. A part of this tradition has been to decorate profusely the outer surfaces of buildings, especially the temples. This has permitted a more or less free play of imagination in carving and engraving. Many subjects are taken from nature, but the human figure also appears frequently. The depiction of events from the epics and religious scenes has introduced many human and social themes as contrasted with eastern Asiatic art. Sculpture also in stone, metal, and wood has portrayed the human figure, often in grotesque representations of the gods and goddesses.

There seems to have been an early Indian art of painting which began prior to the Western influences and continued until about the time of the disappearance of Buddhism. In fact, India under Brahmanism has on the whole not been very favorable to great artistic activity. During the Mohammedan period the art of painting portraits, especially in miniature form, was highly developed. So far as my observation goes, Indian painting is childish and immature in its technique as compared with the highly finished products of Chinese and Japanese art. But it is more realistic in its style and more human in its subjects than the Far Eastern art.

Man's attitude toward nature is considerably influenced by his notions concerning a hypothetical supernatural world. Belief in the supernatural is widespread the world over, all religions being necessarily based upon this as their fundamental tenet. In the Occident the tendency is to distinguish sharply between the natural and the supernatural. It is not generally believed that the supernatural has much influence in the natural world, but while recognized and respected it is relegated to a remote region of its own to which the souls of the dead depart. Religion is highly institutionalized in the organization of the church with priests, formal ceremonies at stated intervals, preaching, and the like. God is worshiped

ELEPHANT CARRYING LUMBER

ELEPHANT PILING UP PLANKS

MOULMEIN, BURMA

on Sunday with due decorum, and then forgotten during the rest of the week by the vast majority, who are preoccupied with the much more interesting and engrossing affairs of this world.

As I have indicated in Chapter III, religion is much less institutionalized in the Orient. The church organization is not so highly developed. There is no Sabbath specially dedicated to religion which would leave other days conveniently free for temporal matters. While a priesthood exists in most Oriental countries, and is often highly specialized, religious duties nevertheless weigh more or less heavily upon the layman as well. Eastern religions are closer to the earlier nature worships out of which all extant religions have directly or indirectly arisen. They are polytheistic, with a multitude of gods and goddesses, many of whom are very human and therefore not so exalted and remote as the Hebrew Jehovah, the Christian God, or the Mohammedan Allah, all of whom, like Brahma, are almost beyond the ken of the ordinary man and woman.

Most of these things are especially true of India. I have already commented several times upon the overweening influence of religion and the extent to which the idea of the supernatural pervades thought in that country. As an Indian writer has expressed it, for the Indians the natural is a projection of the supernatural and the supernatural a continuation of the natural.[10] The distinction between the natural and the supernatural, between the objective and the subjective, is not so sharply drawn as in the West, as I have pointed out in discussing the yoga philosophy in Chapter IV. According to the maya doctrine, the world in which we live is unreal and illusory and fades into the other world. Such beliefs promote mysticism and a rather hazy conception of the natural universe.

The belief in metempsychosis tends to break down the barrier between man and the remainder of the natural world.

[10] D. G. Mukerji, "My Brother's Face," New York, 1924.

If the souls inhabiting human bodies also dwell at various stages in their careers in beasts, plants, and even inanimate objects, man may well have a feeling of close kinship with his organic and inorganic surroundings. It sometimes leads to an exaggerated form of zoöphilism. Some of the Buddhist sects kill no animals whatsoever. In Ahmedabad I visited a Jain *pinjrapole* where animals ranging in size from small insects to oxen were being fed by the donations of the devout. There are many *gaushalas* (cow asylums) in India. Unfortunately, this signifies little more than a pious gesture, for animals in general are probably treated as badly in the East as in the West. In accordance with the Indian doctrine of *ahimsa* (non-violence) many animals are not killed, but they are often left to starve to death. My impression is that there are fewer animal pets in the Orient, though in some countries this is due in part to scarcity of food. For example, in Japan the rarity of dogs and cats is very noticeable and is due to the very limited supply of meat. Adjoining the Willow Tree Pattern Tea House in Shanghai and elsewhere in China I watched Chinese gentlemen airing their birds in their cages. But this is a sort of an esthetic cult, and cruelty to animals is often to be seen in China.

These Oriental doctrines have led certain writers to opine that the East more than the West regards man as a component part of nature, and that the doctrine of the transmigration of souls encourages a feeling of unity with nature. Belief in the supernatural is even more widespread in the Orient, and anthropomorphism as prominent there as in the Occident. But the natural and the supernatural tend to be confused and to become merged into one another. So that in this sense the East has a feeling of an all-inclusive unity of the natural and the supernatural, of man and of nature. In this union the Oriental assumes in the main a fatalistic attitude of resignation toward these natural-supernatural powers which he little understands and has less hope of controlling. Among the common people these powers are usually personified, owing to

the strong anthropomorphic tendency of the human mind everywhere, and gods and goddesses, fairies and hobgoblins abound throughout the Orient. In the intellectual class, however, especially in eastern Asia, belief in a personal deity is perhaps less strong than it is in the Occident, where the Jehovah-God-Allah deity of Semitic origin, having vanquished other tribal gods, jealously maintains his monotheistic supremacy and monopoly.

In the West, on the other hand, science has been developing a new attitude toward nature. Based upon a much more extensive and accurate knowledge of natural phenomena has arisen a concept of a fundamental unity between man and nature which eliminates the supernatural by bringing all phenomena, human and non-human, animate and inanimate, under the same realm of law and order. Through an understanding of natural law man in the West has acquired a certain measure of control of the field of nature within his puny grasp and to this extent feels himself its master. To whatever he cannot control he endeavors to adapt himself, provided he does not become drunk with power and too arrogant in his attitude toward nature. The latter is perhaps exemplified in the cities of the Occident, monstrous creations by means of which mankind has been cut off almost entirely from nature, much to its injury. With this arrogance may be contrasted the supine yielding of the Orient to the forces of nature. The happy medium is somewhere between these two courses.[11]

[11] In a little book setting forth his philosophy of life, Tagore asserts that Western civilization is city-bred and assumes an aggressive attitude toward its natural environment, while Indian civilization is forest-bred and has a more tolerant attitude of reconciliation with its environment. Consequently, the West tries to dominate nature, and the East to coöperate with it. He avers that the West believes there is a decisive gulf between mankind and animals, while Eastern thinkers have urged men to recognize a close relation between themselves and the objects in their natural environment and to harmonize themselves with it.

In view of the above discussion it is obvious that the West is not as unreconciled to the animal world and to nature in general as Tagore intimates. (See Rabindranath Tagore, "Sadhana, the Realisation of Life," New York, 1914.)

The foregoing survey indicates that the situation is conflicting and that no categorical conclusion can be reached as to the attitude toward nature. It may be that the Orient has a somewhat more intimate feeling for nature. But the Occident has a more accurate comprehension of man's place in nature and more power and skill in utilizing natural forces. Westerners have nevertheless not succeeded as well in adapting themselves to tropical conditions as Easterners. It is commonly believed that the tropics are unfit for the white race. This fallacious notion has arisen out of the manner in which the great majority of white men live in tropical countries in the Eastern Hemisphere.[12]

Most of these countries are ruled by the whites, so that it is to the interest of these alien rulers to maintain as vast a difference as possible between their manner of life and that of their native subjects. This consideration, which influences them even when they are not conscious of it, their ignorance and lack of appreciation of non-European culture, and contempt for the darker races lead them to introduce most of the features of their European mode of life, in spite of its unsuitability for tropical conditions, and to ignore the ways in which the natives have adapted themselves to the climate. Their diet usually includes much meat and other rich foods, which would render it too heavy even for a cold climate. Very often it is generously diluted with alcoholic liquors, which are much less used in Oriental countries than in countries which boast of European culture, but which are now, unfortunately, being forced upon the Orient by the Occident. While the heat compels them to adopt clothing much lighter than at home, yet it is much heavier than the open and scanty dress of the natives.

In tropical countries labor is usually cheap and plentiful. The indolence encouraged by the unaccustomed heat, and the desire to maintain his prestige as a sort of superhuman

[12] The following paragraphs are paraphrased from my book entitled "The New Gymnosophy," whose central theme is man's relation to nature.

or semi-divine personage, soon lead the white men to cease almost entirely from physical exertion. The effect upon the white women is even worse, for they pass most of their time in mental as well as physical idleness. Combined with their immoderate eating and often drinking, this has the most dire consequences for their health. While a few may keep up for a time their sports and athletics, they succumb almost invariably to the enervating effect of their social as well as their climatic environment.

If white men and women will reduce their clothing, adopt a light diet, eliminate alcoholic beverages, take plenty of exercise, and accustom themselves to the sun's rays, from which they always flee, there is no reason why they should not live and work successfully and happily in the tropics. The same applies just as much to their children, who, if reared naturally, probably have as much chance for survival in tropical countries as elsewhere.[13]

As a matter of fact, white peoples have in the past developed great civilizations under tropical conditions. European culture was evolved in part under such conditions. Many of the inhabitants of hot and semi-tropical countries to-day are closely related by blood with the white peoples of Europe and America. This is true of the peoples of northern Africa, of Arabia and Persia, and of the so-called "Aryan" peoples of India. Hence it is that in learning from tropical peoples, Europeans and Americans will be recovering some of the ancient lore of their ancestors.

The ordinary methods of cooking are bad everywhere, in many places they are worse. Mankind displays an almost diabolical skill in spoiling good food by frying, and in other ways rendering it indigestible by combining aliments which are not dietetically congruous, and in many other ways

[13] Davids says that the baneful influence of the Indian climate has been exaggerated, and that it is not bad for both physical and intellectual energy and work, for Europeans as well as for the natives. (T. W. Rhys Davids, "Buddhist India," London, 1903.)

creating havoc in the digestive processes. In this unwholesome and unnatural rivalry East and West vie with each other, and it is difficult to decide which does the worst. The West proclaims the French culinary art the best, the East the Chinese. While both tickle the palate, they violate dietetic principles almost as heedlessly as the most unpalatable cuisines.

Much of the Orient is in a tropical environment, and it is poorer and less developed economically, so that its diet is comparatively simple though usually ill prepared. Meat is little used. A colder climate and greater wealth encourage richer and heavier foods in the Occident. While there is much eating to excess in the West, the East is probably on the whole under-fed, which is one reason for the lower efficiency of the Oriental worker. The only hope for mankind in this matter of fundamental importance is through science which is just beginning to discern the most elementary of dietetic principles, which have as yet had little influence upon the culinary art.

Religion and poverty discourage the use of alcoholic beverages in the Orient, while a large proportion of the inhabitants of the Occident imbibe these noxious beverages daily, thus subjecting themselves to a gradual process of poisoning.[14] In like fashion is tobacco more widely used. While coffee is of tropical provenance, it is imbibed much more in the West. The same may be true of tea in spite of the fact that it is used in Japan and China. Recently tea-drinking has been introduced into India. The sedative drugs such as morphine and cocaine are probably more widely used in the West, and the same may be true of opium. Western addiction to stimulants and sedatives is largely due to the more hurried and nerve-racking life of the Occident.

Housefurnishings, such as chairs and tables, are much less

[14] Few statistics of the use of alcohol in the Orient are available. From 1906 to 1910 the consumption of potable alcohol in Japan was about one tenth that in France, which consumed the most of any nation, one fourth that in Great Britain, and one third that in the United States, during the same period. (See my "Personality and Conduct," New York, 1918.)

used in the East. In fact, it may be said that the material equipment of Oriental life is on the whole much simpler.[15]

Much of the work of the West is artificial in the sense that it does not exist in a state of nature. This is true of most of the intellectual labor and all work with machines and other complicated tools. Most of this work is done under great pressure of time and nervous strain. There is much less of such work in the East, and Oriental life is much more leisurely.

Genuine courtesy is more or less evenly distributed the world over, for it arises out of individual traits universal to mankind. Formal courtesy varies greatly in extent and character according to the relations between castes and classes, and traditional and customary observances. The Indian mode of salutation, the palms meeting in front of the breast without physical contact between the persons greeting each other, is simpler and more pleasing than the Western modes of handshaking, kissing, etc. Indeed, there is less physical contact in Oriental than in Occidental courtesy, which is as it should be, for such contact should be reserved for more intimate personal relations. The Japanese mode of salutation is excessively formal and elaborate, with many low bows and genuflections and the use of numerous honorific terms. The more leisurely life of the Orient perhaps encourages more formal courtesy than in the West, thus introducing an unnecessary degree of artificiality and a good deal of hypocrisy into human relations.

[15] For a discussion of simplicity see my "New Gymnosophy," Chapter XIV, entitled "The Simplification of Life."

PART II

CONTACT AND ASSIMILATION

Chapter XII

THE ATTEMPT AT DOMINATION BY THE WEST

On the boat from Rangoon to Calcutta I asked an English resident of India what there is to see in Calcutta. A bored look passed over his face as he replied, "Oh, the Victoria Memorial is about all." I put a similar question to a Hindu gentleman on the same boat. The list he gave me included the Indian Museum, the Jain and Brahmo Samaj temples, Dr. J. C. Bose and his physico-physiological laboratory, Rabindranath Tagore, the Ram Krishna Math, the Imperial Library, the university, etc. All of this I saw, and much besides, so that my stay in Calcutta was one of the most interesting and instructive that I have spent in any city.

I visited the Victoria Memorial also. In the center of Calcutta is the Maidan (plain or park), which extends for two miles along the bank of the Hooghly and is about one mile broad. At the southern end stands the memorial, a huge building in Renaissance style which cost seventy-six lacs (7,600,000) of rupees. This sum was contributed by the native princes, which means that it was squeezed out of the people of India. It contains a collection of objects of interest mainly with respect to British rule in India. I watched the native visitors streaming through the building, well-dressed city people, scantily clothed peasant folk from Bengalee villages, men, women, and children, chattering animatedly among themselves, but paying little heed to the exhibits. Why should they be interested in relics of Queen Victoria and portraits of former viceroys?

Adjoining the memorial is an arch dedicated to Victoria's son, Edward VII. In the center of the Maidan is Fort William,

covering two square miles, and constructed in the eighteenth century to defend British conquests. Numerous statues of English noblemen are scattered throughout the Maidan, and at the northern end stands the European War Memorial. On armistice day British troops and native lancers on well-groomed horses were drawn up in serried ranks. The viceroy and other high officials, and native princes who are the minions of British rule, walked solemnly forward and laid wreaths at the foot of the memorial. Young English women in pretty dresses circulated in the crowd selling rosettes for the benefit of a war charity. I heard an Englishman reproaching a young Indian for not having purchased a rosette. The boy grinned sheepishly and made no reply. Why were the Indians forced to take part in a war which was due to the failure of European nations to coöperate in matters of common interest and thus maintain peaceful relations?

All over India and other British possessions I saw statues of Victoria, Edward, and George. In the Dutch East Indies the statues were of Wilhelmina, and in the colonial possessions of other Occidental powers similar statues, *mutatis mutandis*. What do the Orientals think of these graven images of their alien rulers, staring mutely and dully in their faces? Do they arouse sentiments of joy and of pride, of loyalty and patriotism, or of resentment and of anger, of insubordination and rebellion?

The first important attempt at domination by the West was Alexander's vainglorious invasion of India in the fourth century before Christ. While it failed as a permanent conquest and the Greek garrisons eventually withdrew, it established a cultural contact with the Occident which had far-reaching consequences not only for India but also for China and other Oriental countries, because India influenced China in religion, art, science (mathematics in particular), and philosophy. Overland trade between the East and the West continued. The Romans traded with China through the Parthians, and there were other commercial relations.

EUROPEAN QUARTER, HONGKONG

CHINESE QUARTER, HONGKONG

The attempt at domination of special significance for our purpose commenced at the outset of the sixteenth century, with the Portuguese in the lead. The navigator Vasco da Gama rounded the Cape of Good Hope and reached Calicut in 1498. The viceroy Albuquerque came in 1503 and in 1510 established the first European colony at Goa. The Philippine Islands were visited by Magellan and occupied by the Spanish in the sixteenth century. The Portuguese acquired extensive territories in India until the Dutch arrived in 1595 and competed successfully with them. The French came at the beginning of the seventeenth century, and later conquered extensive territories until defeated by the English at Plassey in 1757, after which their power rapidly dwindled. Dutch, French, and British East India companies were formed to carry on trade. The English began to come early in the seventeenth century, and eventually acquired suzerainty over the whole of India with the exception of the small Portuguese colony at Goa and five French colonies comprising less than two hundred square miles.

Oversea commerce with China began at Canton about A.D. 300. For centuries it was controlled principally by Arabs, though it included some Hindu traders. The Portuguese reached China in 1516 and Japan in 1541. The Dutch reached China in 1604, the British in 1607, and the Americans in 1784. The Russians were in communication with China overland, and the first treaty between China and a European power was concluded with Russia in 1689.

Seafaring trade brought the West to the East in a decisive fashion. Western seafarers and merchants were seeking for raw materials which could be secured only in the Orient, markets for finished products, and cheap labor with which to manufacture goods. These were in the main legitimate ends. But they sometimes met opposition and contempt. This was particularly true of China. The Chinese had conquered all of their neighbors and for many centuries were almost entirely isolated from the rest of the world. This

situation had developed in them an arrogant attitude which has rarely if ever been surpassed. Their emperor considered himself the ruler of the whole world. Consequently, when George III sent Lord Macartney in 1792 to negotiate a commercial treaty, and demanded treatment as an equal, the Emperor Chien Lung despatched the following message to the English monarch: "It behooves you, O King, to respect our wishes and by perpetual submission to our Throne in the future to bring prosperity and peace to your people. Tremble and obey."

Whatever arrogance the East displayed was more than matched by the aggressiveness of the Westerners. They were usually better armed than the Orientals and possessed a power on the sea unequaled by any Oriental nation. Their firearms were of larger caliber and longer range and their ships of greater burden. Consequently, the peaceful pursuit of trade soon developed into invasion and conquest, often aided and abetted by a Christian zeal which regarded all Oriental religions as false and evil. Thus in the course of four centuries a large part of the Orient passed under Occidental domination. In the twentieth century India, Burma, the Malay States, northern Borneo, eastern New Guinea, and minor possessions elsewhere are under British sway, with British influence strong in Nepal, Bhutan, and Siam, and menacing in Tibet. France rules Indo-China and minor possessions elsewhere. Holland possesses most of the East Indies. The United States rules the Philippine Islands. Russia dominates all of northern Asia from the Urals to the Pacific. In fact, nearly three fifths of the area of Asia and one half or more of its population are under Occidental suzerainty.

Even where suzerainty has not actually been declared, a certain measure of domination has been secured. China, in addition to losing several important ports, was for a time divided up into several "spheres of influence" by the leading Western powers, and its political integrity is not yet free from danger. Extraterritorial rights for foreigners and regu-

lation of the customs duties were imposed upon Japan, China, and several other Oriental countries. Western capital invested in Eastern railways, factories, etc., has levied a heavy tribute and has often interfered with the political affairs of these countries. The only country which has succeeded in freeing itself entirely from these restrictions is Japan, and it has done so by imitating the material aspects of Occidental civilization—in other words, by equaling and sometimes beating the West at its own game of force and aggression. Thus has Western empire, political and economic, spread over practically the whole of the East, and presents the most extensive display of imperialism in the history of mankind. Not even Rome in its palmiest days could equal it.

This extraordinary situation has not come into being intentionally. The West did not by a premeditated and concerted design conquer the East. It came about partly through the frequent resistance of the East to Western advances, and its unwillingness to adjust itself to international finance, trade, and industry which was developing under the rapid scientific and technical progress of the West. In many Oriental countries the laws were of such a nature that foreigners could not live and do business under them, thus giving rise to the demand for extraterritorial rights. Sometimes these countries isolated themselves entirely or gave only very limited rights of residence to foreigners. For more than two centuries Japan excluded all foreigners, with the exception of a few Dutch merchants who were permitted to live on a small island in Nagasaki harbor. In Canton the foreigners were banished to a mudbank in the river, which they filled in and then built the city of Shameen. At Shanghai they were assigned the swampy strand of the Whangpoo River, where now stands the stately International Settlement.

Balked and irritated by such discriminations against them, by the indifference and somnolence of the Orient, and its inefficiency according to Occidental standards, Western powers often went on to conquer where it was at first in-

tended only to trade. But this imperialism was due even more to Western greed and aggressiveness, which could not be restrained from exploiting by force the physically and materially weaker East.

Whether or not this imperialistic outcome could have been avoided it would be useless to discuss. It would also be superfluous to describe in detail Western political and economic imperialism, concerning which there is an extensive literature.[1] Its dangerousness is too obvious to require proof or extended comment. Occidental historians and other writers, with characteristic arrogance, usually call the European War of 1914 to 1918 the "World" War. It was a war which originated solely in Europe between rival groups of European powers and should have been settled by them alone. With the exception of Japan, which had already entered the European game of balance of power, the Oriental nations which became involved were dragooned into it by Western imperialism. It concerned them only indirectly—namely, in so far as they were the pawns and spoils over which their alien rulers were quarreling and fighting. To call such a war the World War is a gross and misleading piece of inaccuracy. Only a myopic view of the world which regards the Orient as a caudal appendage of the Occident could be guilty of this egregious error, so insulting to the East.[2]

The European War may readily prepare the way for a genuine world war. It taught the Orientals that the Occident is not united and is capable of fighting over the spoils, some of which are in the East. It showed them the way to independence and power by means of huge land, naval, and

[1] See, for example, P. T. Moon, "Imperialism and World Politics," New York, 1927; S. Nearing and J. Freeman, "Dollar Diplomacy, A Study in American Imperialism," New York, 1925; R. W. Dunn, "American Foreign Investments," New York, 1925; and especially J. A. Hobson, "Imperialism," New York, 1902, which is an excellent survey of the whole subject.

[2] My book entitled "Blockade and Sea Power," New York, 1924, is one of the very few books concerning this war which does not commit this error. I have invariably called it the "European" War.

aërial armaments, an evil lesson which they are only too likely to learn. If and when the East unites in opposition to the West, there will come the real world war which will involve practically the whole of mankind. In a later chapter I shall discuss the Nationalist movement in the Orient which already points in that direction.

In this book I am concerned with the broadly cultural rather than the specifically political and economic aspects of this attempt at domination by the West. It has served to bring a considerable measure of Occidental culture to the Orient. Indeed, had it not been for the commercial enterprise of the seafaring peoples of Europe in the sixteenth century and later, the East would probably still be almost wholly ignorant of and indifferent to Western culture. But it has been largely through coercion and by imposition from above that this culture has come to the Orient. As the Occident has not been subjected to a similar coercion, it is still indifferent to Oriental culture, though not entirely ignorant of it.

The manner of contact between the two cultures has therefore not been of such a nature as to promote the best sort of assimilation and interpenetration. The Westerners, coming as conquerors and exploiters, have assumed a supercilious and contemptuous attitude toward Oriental culture. The Easterners have usually assumed a subservient or at least deferential manner toward these alien rulers and exploiters. While this manner may be due in part to Oriental politeness, it arises mainly out of fear of Occidental might and belligerence. But it conceals a contempt and hatred for the West which fully equal the corresponding feelings of the Western imperialists for the East.

This situation is aggravated by racial prejudices and antagonisms. Orientals are on the whole of a darker color than Occidentals. The dominant Western powers in Asia are British and American. Great Britain rules India and other extensive territories. In recent years the United States has been England's principal rival in eastern Asia, not by conquest but

by the more subtle method of heavy investments of capital in Oriental enterprises. Hence it is that the Anglo-Saxon influence is the most powerful throughout the world. Anglo-Saxon peoples are predominantly or, at any rate, traditionally of the lightest-colored race, the so-called Nordic. The "Nordics" are therefore for the moment on top, and can display to the full their dislike for the dark-skinned peoples.

Anglo-Saxon antipathy toward the dark races is exemplified in the laws to exclude Oriental immigrants enacted by the United States, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, etc. While these laws are intended primarily to keep out cheap labor, racial prejudice also plays its part. This was strikingly illustrated in the clause excluding the Japanese in the Immigration Law passed by the American Congress on the twelfth of April, 1924. The Japanese Government had displayed its willingness to recognize the economic reasons for restricting immigration. In accordance with the "gentlemen's agreement" of 1907, the Japanese Government prevented laborers from going to the United States. As a consequence, the excess of incoming over outgoing Japanese during the years 1908 to 1923 was only 8681, and this number included merchants, students, tourists, government officials, and others who are permitted to enter. Under the Immigration Restriction Act the annual quota for Japanese immigrants would have been only a little over one hundred. It was therefore a wholly gratuitous insult to discriminate against the Japanese nation by specifically excluding its nationals.

This display of race prejudice will seriously influence the future relations of the two countries, though the Japanese Government has so far assumed a passive attitude toward the question. In his speech before the Imperial Diet of July 1, 1924, Foreign Minister Shidehara, referring to this exclusion clause, stated that "we can by no means concede that the question is closed. Until our just contentions shall have been given satisfaction, we shall maintain our protest, and shall use our best possible endeavors to seek an amicable

adjustment of the question and to ensure forever the traditional friendship between the two nations." When I asked Baron Shidehara what he meant by this statement, he replied that the Japanese Government has no intention of doing anything, but that this is a moral question which cannot be regarded as settled until the United States has righted the injustice it has done to the Japanese people.

Physical and mental racial differences have not yet been sufficiently studied to warrant definite conclusions. Most of the assertions made with regard to the alleged inferiority or superiority of various races have no scientific justification whatsoever, and are based on preconceived notions, casual observations, misinterpreted anecdotes, mistaken assumptions as to the causes of cultural differences, and racial and national prejudices. A very extensive investigation of a rigorously scientific nature is necessary before reliable conclusions can be reached.[3]

Many of these allegations of racial inferiority have been made concerning the negroes, and because some of the Oriental peoples also are dark-colored, it has been assumed that

[3] Ginsberg has recently made a careful survey of this subject, which he has summarized in the following words:

"There may be differences in respect of both intellectual faculty and temperamental disposition as between different races, but the extent to which these differences are due to innate constitution is at present uncertain. The stress laid in recent biology upon hereditary factors must not be interpreted as implying a denial of the importance of environmental factors. In regard to social evolution, moreover, cultural development and change appear to be largely independent of germinal change. A great many social changes take place of vast importance in the history of civilization which cannot be shown to be connected with any changes in racial type. Further, it seems unwarranted, in the light of the present state of ethnological psychology, to place races on a scale of *genetic* superiority or inferiority. The genetic basis of behaviour is difficult enough to determine within a well-defined group. Such an attempt becomes wellnigh hopeless when made in reference to whole races. We may therefore say with the distinguished American biologist, Professor T. H. Morgan, that 'a little goodwill might seem more fitting in treating these complicated questions than the attitude adopted by some of the modern race propagandists.' " (Morris Ginsberg, "The Problem of Colour in Relation to the Idea of Equality," in the "Journal of Philosophical Studies," Vol. I, No. 2, London, 1926.)

these charges could be extended to them. Whether or not such allegations against the negroes are justified is very debatable. Inasmuch as negro blood is no more prevalent in the East than it is in the West, this question is of no more significance for the Orient than it is for the Occident. There are many dark-skinned peoples which are not negroid. It is indeed astounding how many egregious errors are made in this connection. An important official of the Department of State of the United States Government asserted that the Chinese are of a much higher type than the Indians, and added that this is not surprising, because the Chinese are of a lighter color and therefore more closely related to us. He was much abashed when I replied that ethnically the great majority of the Indians belong primarily to the Caucasian race, so that we are, on the contrary, more closely related to them than we are to the Mongolian peoples. A cursory examination of the head form, hair, features, and bodily anatomy is sufficient to prove this obvious fact.

I have discussed this back-thrust of imperialism with educated and cultured representatives of several Oriental countries who are humiliated and alarmed by this outburst of race prejudice and discrimination against their peoples. They fully realize that it indicates a belief prevalent in the Occident that they are racially and culturally inferior. The feeling of resentment thus aroused does not encourage them to welcome and to try to assimilate the best that there is in Occidental culture, but turns them back toward their own culture, thus aggravating the cultural dissimilarity and antipathy between the East and the West.

This contemptuous attitude toward the Orient is manifested at its worst by the European and American residents in the East, most of whom are intensely imperialistic. Their ignorance and indifference toward the culture of the peoples among whom they live is little short of appalling. The term "native" as used by them is often intentionally insulting, and the phrase "going native" as applied to Westerners who adopt

Oriental customs is always intended as a severe criticism and condemnation. Contempt for strangers is common the world over, but the foreigners in the Orient succeed in surpassing it in their contempt for the natives. This is due not only to provincialism and prejudice but also to a desire to dominate the peoples whom they are trying to rule and exploit by setting themselves as far apart from them as possible. A foreigner who does not follow this policy is therefore a traitor to their cause. In an Oriental country I was received in the home of a foreign journalist who, because he likes it, has adopted in large part the native mode of life. I soon discovered that for this reason he is looked upon with suspicion if not with animosity by his colleagues. And yet an Oriental who carries with him to the Occident his own dress, manners, and customs is very likely to suffer from chauvinism and intolerance, though Westerners are constantly doing the same with impunity in the Orient.

The foreign communities in China furnish characteristic illustrations of all of these points, as I have had ample opportunity to observe in Tientsin, Hankow, Shanghai, Canton, Hongkong, and elsewhere. Huddled together in their concessions and settlements, these aliens from the Occident seclude themselves as much as possible from the Chinese. Their only interest in the country is to make as much money as possible out of its people. The information of the "old China hand" concerning the country in which he has resided for decades often is extraordinarily limited. Their lack of a sympathetic interest establishes a barrier between them and the natives, in spite of the fact that their economic activities are often to the mutual benefit of both foreigners and natives.

In the Orient it is customary for the foreign clubs to exclude the natives rigidly and under all circumstances, except as servants. In Shanghai I had the privilege of being received in his home and conversing with Mr. Tong Shao-yi, the first prime minister of the Chinese Republic. A visiting foreigner who was unacquainted with the club rules once invited Mr.

Tong to meet him at the American Club. When he arrived, this distinguished Chinese statesman was sent around to the servants' entrance at the rear of the building and then was refused admission.

The British in India impress one as being in a constant state of irritable tension. In order to maintain their prestige as almost superhuman beings who have been divinely ordained to rule, they must distinguish as sharply as possible between their own and the native mode of life. This is strikingly exemplified in the railway trains. First class costs twice as much as second class, and second class three times as much as third class, so that first class costs six times as much as third class. And yet the difference in comfort is not much greater than in Europe, where the difference in price is much less. By traveling second and sometimes third class I not only saved a good deal of money but formed many pleasant acquaintances with native travelers and learned a good deal which I would have missed had I traveled first class with the exclusive company of foreigners. And yet with the exception of some of the missionaries and Europeans in menial positions, very few foreigners travel other than first class, even though many of them habitually travel second and third class in Europe.

This tension is greatly accentuated by the belief prevalent among imperialists that they are performing an altruistic mission in ruling the Orient. This notion is based upon the postulate that they are morally as well as intellectually superior to the Orientals. As the raucously imperialistic poet Rudyard Kipling has vulgarly and insultingly expressed it:

> Ship me somewheres east of Suez where the best is like the worst,
> Where there ain't no Ten Commandments, an' a man can raise a thirst.

This belief was more elegantly phrased when Lord Rosebery, a former Liberal prime minister, asserted that the British Empire is "the greatest secular agency for good known to

the world." Certain benefits derived from British and other colonial rule are not to be denied, but they are benefits which are forced upon and not solicited by these peoples. Consequently, it is not surprising that the officials and other imperialists are irritated and angered by the obvious lack of appreciation of this alien rule displayed by its unwilling recipients, nor is this lack of appreciation any more surprising. The best commentary on the self-assumed "white man's burden" has been furnished by the eminent English economist, John A. Hobson:

"Imperialism is a depraved choice of national life, imposed by self-seeking interests which appeal to the lusts of quantitative acquisitiveness and of forceful domination surviving in a nation from early centuries of animal struggle for existence. Its adoption as a policy implies a deliberate renunciation of that cultivation of the higher inner qualities which for a nation as for an individual constitutes the ascendancy of reason over brute impulse. It is the besetting sin of all successful States, and its penalty is unalterable in the order of nature." [4]

Until the Occident ceases its attempt at domination, accompanied by unctuous professions of doing good or by more frank and truthful assertions of pecuniary gain and political power as its motives, it will not be possible for the East and the West to profit by an entirely free and mutually helpful exchange of their cultures.

[4] "Imperialism," p. 390.

Chapter XIII

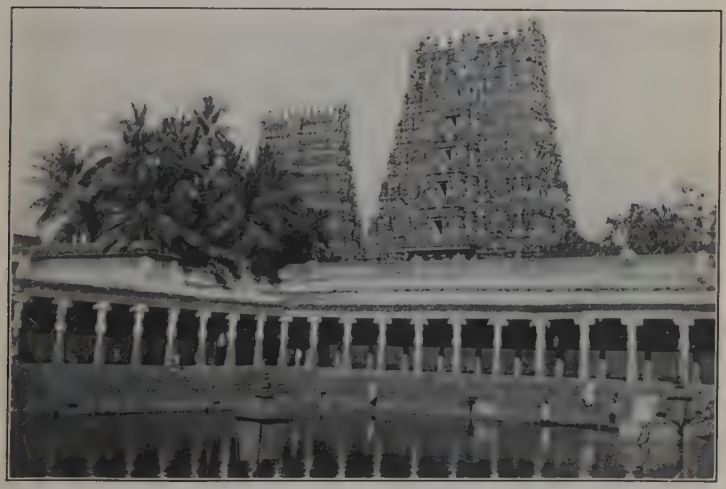
THE MISSIONARY INVASION OF THE EAST

In a lecture at a Japanese university I expressed the opinion that religion is more influential in the Orient, whereas science has rendered Occidental thought more secular. The only white man in the audience was an American missionary. A few days later I received a letter from him disputing my allegations and inclosing tracts from a Bible society in Chicago purporting to prove that there is no antagonism between religion and science. Later I delivered a similar lecture at an Indian university. On this occasion the only white man present was a British missionary. In the discussion which followed he bluntly denied what I had said and unctuously expressed satisfaction that my opinions are not universally held in Europe and America.

Needless to say, these missionaries had the right to differ from me and to express their opinions, since I am not omniscient and infallible. It is not surprising that they were displeased at my suggestion that the Orient is more religious, because they are trying to convert its inhabitants to what they profess to be the only true religion. To hear an Occidental scientist assure these "heathen" Orientals that they are very religious must indeed have been extremely irksome. The Briton might, however, have been more tactful and the American less naïve, while both of them could very profitably study science and comparative religions. I mention these incidents because they illustrate one of the factors which, whether for good or for evil, is influencing the attitude and relations of the Orient toward the Occident.

It is impossible to state accurately the number of adherents

JAMI MASJID OR PRINCIPAL MOSQUE, DELHI, INDIA



HINDU TEMPLE, MADURA, INDIA

of most of the religions of the world. As we have seen in Chapter III, in China Confucianism, Taoism, and Buddhism overlap because many individuals profess more than one religion and practise all three to a certain extent, and a similar situation exists in Japan with respect to Buddhism and Shinto. Consequently, statistics of all four of these religions are of dubious value. It is customary to credit all of the population of Europe and of North and South America to Christianity. But not all of the aboriginal inhabitants of the Western Hemisphere have been Christianized, while a considerable proportion of the civilized population, including a much larger proportion of its intellectual classes, professes no religion whatsoever.

It is nevertheless certain that Christianity is by far the strongest numerically. What is still more important, it is the dominant religion of the Occident. Inasmuch as the Occident, though numerically weaker, is politically and economically much stronger than the Orient, Christianity acquires thereby an enormous social and material prestige. Leaving aside the question as to the relative merits of the different religions, if any religion is advantageously situated to become the dominant or universal religion, it is Christianity. The following estimate gives some indication of the numerical strength of the leading religions: [1]

Christianity	557,000,000
Confucianism	250,000,000
Mohammedanism	230,000,000
Hinduism	217,000,000
Buddhism	137,000,000
Taoism	43,000,000
Shinto	16,000,000
Judaism	11,000,000

[1] See R. E. Hume, "The World's Living Religions," New York, 1924, p. 14. All of the above figures, especially those concerning Buddhism, Taoism, and Shinto, are very questionable.

Missionaries have been at work in the Orient since early in the Christian era. After the condemnation of the Nestorian heresy by the Council of Ephesus in A.D. 431, Syrians came to the Malabar or west coast of India and founded colonies which made many conversions and still flourish, especially in the southern states of Cochin and Travancore. The Nestorians are said to have reached China in A.D. 505. The Nestorian stone tablet at Sian-fu dates from the seventh or eighth century. Roman Catholic missionaries are said to have arrived in Peking in 1293, just after the departure of Marco Polo. Francisco de Xavier reached India in 1542, Japan in 1549, and died in China in 1552. The Jesuit Matteo Ricci arrived in China in 1582. The Roman Catholics are said to have entered Korea about the year 1600. Russian Orthodox missionaries reached Peking in 1685. Protestant mission work began in India in the early part of the eighteenth century, in China at the beginning of the nineteenth century, and in Japan in 1859.

According to the census of India, in 1921 the Christians numbered 4,753,174, being about 1½ per cent. of the total population of India and Burma. This figure included 4,464,396 Indians, 113,041 Anglo-Indians—namely, Eurasians—and 175,737 Europeans and other whites. There were 1,823,079 Roman Catholics, 1,803,964 Protestants of the principal sects, and 676,957 members of the Syrian church, the remainder being distributed among the smaller sects. In Ceylon in 1921 there were 443,400 Christians, or nearly 10 per cent. of the total population of 4,498,605, of whom 368,499 were Roman Catholics.

In Japan in 1925 there were 219,862 Christians, including 77,191 Roman Catholics, and 14,206 of the Russian Orthodox church. This was barely one third of 1 per cent. of the total population. In Korea in 1924 there were 349,375 Christians, of whom about 80,000 were Roman Catholics. This was barely 1½ per cent. of the total population.

Chinese statistics are notoriously scarce and inaccurate.

The China Year Book, 1928, estimated that there are 700,000 Protestants, of whom 350,000 are communicants, and 2,300,000 Roman Catholics in China. But the Catholic Encyclopedia, published in 1911, claimed barely one million adherents in China and its dependencies. In all probability considerably less than 1 per cent. of the Chinese are Christian. The Catholic Encyclopedia claimed about one million adherents in Indo-China and its neighboring countries. Owing to the long Spanish occupation, there are said to be six or seven million Catholics in the Philippine Islands, or more than half of the total population.

These figures indicate that, even though numerous missionaries have been sent and much money has been expended, Christianity has made little impression upon the Orient so far as the number of conversions is an indication. The Blue Book of Missions, published in 1907, estimated that Protestant missionary work in the entire world had resulted in only 1,817,450 communicants and 4,361,138 adherents. In spite of the fact that Islam, the other great Semitic religion, came into existence more than half a millennium later, it has been much more successful. According to the census of 1921 there were more than 68,000,000 Moslems in India, or about 22 per cent. of the total population. According to the China Year Book, 1925-26, there are fifteen to twenty millions of Moslems in China, or perhaps 4 to 5 per cent. of the population. Islam is the dominant religion in a large part of Malaysia and the East Indies.

In spite of its tremendous social and political prestige and its close association with Occidental imperialism, Christianity has had little success in the Orient. Leaving aside the case of the Philippines, where Roman Catholicism was forced upon a primitive people by a despotic European government, Ceylon, a small and unimportant country where a hybrid mixture of Asiatic and European culture prevails, is the only place where the proportion of Christians approaches 10 per cent. Next comes Korea with less than 2 per cent. And Korea

has long been culturally decadent and has no vital religion of its own, the upper classes favoring Confucianism and the lower classes Buddhism. The almost complete failure of the Christian offensive on the Orient is a striking fact worthy of careful consideration.

The missionary spirit is much stronger in the Occident than in the Orient, and is correlated with the more aggressive spirit of the West. Both Christianity and Islam are belligerently proselytizing religions, partly because each is monotheistic and professes that its god should dominate the whole world, but also owing to other tenets soon to be mentioned. The contrast between the Occidental and Oriental religions with regard to their proselytizing zeal is of considerable significance in relation to their respective cultures and their contact with each other.

Three religions profess to be universal religions—namely, Buddhism, Christianity, and Islam. Judaism at one time entertained the hope that its Jehovah would some time rule the world. But Jehovah never became much more than a tribal god. The Jews persisted in considering themselves a people chosen by divine preference over other peoples, and to whom the deity was to send a messenger, the Messiah. With such a narrow and exclusive outlook Judaism could never become a great missionary religion.

Christianity derived its deity from Judaism. But while both Jehovah and God are monarchs, wielders of brute force and avid for power, God is the greater king who contemplates dominion over the whole earth in a not too remote future, whereas Jehovah was never quite so ambitious. In one of its aspects Christianity is as monarchistic, militaristic, bombastic, and domineering as Judaism. The phrase "kingdom of God," with its variant "kingdom of Heaven" in the gospel of Matthew, appears more often than any other phrase in the four gospels.

Let thrones and powers and kingdoms be
Obedient, mighty God, to Thee!
And, over land and stream and main,
Wave Thou the scepter of Thy reign!

On the other hand, Christianity has also professed the doctrine that God is a father as well as king. He is called the "Father" about three hundred times in the New Testament. Inasmuch as Christians believe that the Messianic hope has been fulfilled, they are willing to extend the fatherhood of God and the ministrations of his son to the rest of mankind. The idealized character of Jesus furnishes a concrete object toward which to direct personal loyalty, more so than in most religions. Thus Jesus also becomes king and martial leader to be followed into battle like God himself.

Great God! whose universal sway
The known and unknown worlds obey;
Now give the kingdom to Thy Son;
Extend His power, exalt His throne.

The Son of God goes forth to war,
A kingly crown to gain;
His blood-red banner streams afar!
Who follows in His train?

Christian hymnology, derived mainly from the Psalms and the New Testament, furnishes abundant evidence of the belligerent character of this religion. While some of the hymns reflect its more amiable tenets, speak of God as love, and dwell upon a peaceful though rarely if ever upon a contemplative or thoughtful life, a large proportion of them are filled with the dust and din, the boasting and bellicosity of war. The Christian is repeatedly characterized as a warrior.

The Christian warrior, see him stand,
In the whole armor of his God.

Soldiers of Christ, arise,
And put your armor on.

Gird thy heavenly armor on,
Wear it ever night and day;
Ambushed lies the evil one:
Watch and pray.

The bellicose spirit of Christianity is to be explained in large part, if not entirely, by its strong sense of evil and sin in the world. This it derived from Zoroastrianism and Judaism, but has considerably intensified and amplified it. In the cruder forms of this doctrine, evil is personified in numerous hobgoblins, genii, demons, and the like, whose weaker magic is pitted against the superior magic of God and his followers, as is illustrated in this characteristic bit of sacred doggerel.

And though this world, with devils filled,
  Should threaten to undo us,
We will not fear, for God hath willed
  His truth to triumph through us.

In Luther's famous hymn which describes God as a "mighty fortress," the arch-fiend Satan is depicted in the most uncomplimentary terms.

For still our ancient foe
Doth seek to work us woe;
His craft and power are great,
And, armed with cruel hate,
On earth is not his equal.

The great battle hymn of Christianity presents this religion arrayed in the full panoply of pomp and power against the evil one.

Onward, Christian soldiers!
Marching as to war,
With the Cross of Jesus
Going on before.
Christ the Royal Master
Leads against the foe;
Forward into battle,
See, His banners go!

These hymns graphically mirror those features of Christianity which have made it a belligerent religion, for the sacred poetry and music of a religion are certain to reflect its most dynamic traits. Sung by myriads of Protestant believers, they have spurred them on to renewed efforts to fight the devil and convert the benighted heathen from their wicked ways.

It is generally believed by Christians that theirs is a missionary religion because Jesus is reputed to have said to his disciples: "Go ye therefore, and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost." (Matthew XXVIII, 19.) "Go ye into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature. He that believeth, and is baptized, shall be saved; but he that believeth not, shall be damned." (Mark XVI, 15, 16.) Here, then, is a formula for salvation through belief and the ceremony of baptism mercifully held forth to all mankind, but short shrift for the recalcitrants who refuse to be saved.

The foregoing exposition, however, indicates clearly the important part played in Christian theology by the dogma of the dualism of good and evil in the universe. Hence the Christian life must be a constant struggle against evil under the command and leadership of God the incarnation of good. A hymn written for the convocation of missionaries, therefore, begins appropriately as follows:

Assembled at Thy great command,
Before Thy face, dread King, we stand;

The voice that marshaled every star,
Has called Thy people from afar.

This ethical dualism permits of no shading. Good is light and evil is darkness. The heathen incarnate evil, or, at any rate, are under its influence. They must be fought and, if possible, saved, whether they wish it or not, partly for their own sake but much more for the glorification of God the inexorable king. The self-righteous Christian, therefore, goes forth to struggle against but also for the wicked heathen.

Scatter the gloom of heathen night,
And bid all nations hail the light.

The heathen in his blindness,
Bows down to wood and stone!
Shall we, whose souls are lighted
With wisdom from on high,—
Shall we, to men benighted,
The lamp of life deny?

The preceding description reveals the attributes of Christianity which have rendered it one of the most aggressive, intolerant, and domineering of religions, and which explain its long history of persecuting unbelievers, its religious wars, its Inquisition and its Crusades, and its extensive proselytizing activities, some of which have been carried on with the aid of the mailed fist. These attributes are its jealous and ambitious deity, its belief in a peculiarly Christian character which is superior to human nature in general and which is incarnated in the partially mythical figure of Jesus, its cut-and-dried formula for salvation than which there is no other way to be saved, and its grotesque and wholly unscientific conception of evil. Every religion grows out and is a part of a complex of economic, political, and social factors and conditions. The intrinsic character of Christianity has harmonized well with the commercial greed and the political

TERRACE OF SHWEHMAWDAW PAGODA, PEGU, BURMA

MUSICIANS IN BUDDHIST PROCESSION, KANDY, CEYLON

imperialism of the Occident, as will presently be indicated.

Needless to say, there have been and are other aspects of Christianity which some of its apologists eagerly push to the fore in order to cover up what has been described. The Christian mystic, like all mystics, is absorbed in his autosuggestively and hypnotically induced inner vision. The gentler and less aggressive believer is attracted by its more amiable tenets and engages in charitable deeds. The more thoughtful adherent is appalled and shocked by the gross inconsistency of its ethical dualism and endeavors to smooth it away, often by means of casuistry. Thus it is argued that while God is responsible for the possibility of evil, he has given man free will so that the individual is responsible for choosing evil rather than good. But these phases of Christianity have had comparatively little influence upon missionary work, which is due almost entirely to the attributes described above. These belligerent attributes constitute the main body of historical Christianity and have had the most influence in the affairs of mankind.

Mohammedanism was derived in part from Judaism and Christianity. Its formula for salvation consists in submission (*islam*) to Allah the one god. All human beings who submit and fight for this religion can be saved, thus making it universal in its appeal. Those who do not submit may be exterminated by the faithful, who attain religious merit thereby. Moslems who secure converts increase their chances of going to Paradise. All of these traits and its extreme simplicity render Islam even more aggressive than Christianity. The Moslem is rarely ever troubled by philosophic doubts, which makes him very sure of himself. During the first millennium of its existence—namely, from the seventh to the seventeenth century—proselytizing zeal aided by the force of arms and an efflorescence of Arabic culture carried it throughout northern Africa, into southern Europe, over most of Asia Minor, and into central Asia. The conquest of a considerable part of India and several centuries of Moslem rule firmly

established it there, where it has a larger following than in any other country. As it carries with it a smaller cultural content than Christianity, it is readily accepted by peoples of a simpler culture without affecting materially their own culture. This explains in large part its success in Malaysia and the East Indies.

Orthodox Hinduism is based on the theory that only those belonging to the caste system can profess this religion, and that membership in a caste is acquired by birth. As a matter of fact, many tribes have been taken into Hinduism in the course of its spread over the peninsula. But this theory has tended to make the Brahmanic religion exclusive and monopolistic. Recently the Arya Samaj, a heterodox Vedic sect, and various Vedantist organizations, such as the Ram Krishna mission, have undertaken to proselytize abroad as well as at home. This outbreak of the missionary spirit has taken place largely in opposition to Christian and especially the very successful Mohammedan proselytizing activity, which has been attracting converts largely from the outcastes and lower castes.

Even if the caste system did not exist, it is doubtful if Brahmanism would be a missionary religion. In earlier chapters we have seen that *moksha* or nirvana is the ideal of Hinduism. This goal may be reached after passing through a series of incarnations. The individual may succeed in accelerating this process by practising various forms of yoga and in other ways. There is no ready-made salvation at hand, as by submission to Allah, faith in God, or following Jesus or any other person. Only through prolonged effort can the individual hope to influence his destiny. This world is maya or an illusion. There is no sin or evil in the absolute sense, but only ignorance and errors. All of this disappears when the individual is merged in Brahma, the impersonal world-soul, or universal consciousness, or whatever it may be called, in which distinctions of good and bad can have no significance. Hence Brahmanism in its more philosophic aspect is

much more complicated and profound in its thought than the naïve and often childishly simple Christian and Mohammedan theology.

Buddhism in its original form as a religion was as quiescent as and even more impersonal than Brahmanism. It also regards nirvana as its goal, and recognizes no absolute evil in the world. But the strong desire of its founder to cure certain social ills gave to it a reforming tendency at the outset. The enthusiasm of King Ashoka about two and a half centuries later started it on a missionary career. It was in no way restricted as to race, nation, or class. In course of time Gautama became deified. Its northern or Mahayana branch acquired a doctrine of salvation and a mediator or redeemer in the person of Amidha Buddha. Thus it spread over a large part of eastern Asia, though driven out of India by the reviving Brahmanism and the incoming Islam. For several centuries it has been quiescent. Since the awakening of Japan, Mahayanism has again become propagandistic. In that country it has developed into a highly institutionalized church and has split up into numerous sects which are vying with each other, thus paralleling the situation in Christendom.

Confucianism as a religion professes belief in a remote deity, Shang-ti or the Supreme Being, and in Tien or Heaven the moral order of the universe. As a popular religious cult it consists of the worship of the spirits of the venerated ancestors. But Confucianism is mainly a system of ethics. Its central theme is the "superior man" as the ideal. This can be attained only through the effort of the individual himself. As Confucius is reported to have said: "From the highest to the lowest, self-development must be deemed the root of all, by every man." ("Ta-hsio"; or, The Great Learning, V, 6.) Among the traits attributed to the superior man are will power, purpose, poise, fortitude, self-control, self-sufficiency, earnestness, thoroughness, sincerity, truthfulness, purity of thought and action, love of truth, mental hospitality, rectitude, prudence, composure, fearlessness, ease and dignity,

firmness, humility, avoidance of sycophancy, growth, capacity, openness, benevolence, broad-mindedness, charity, moderation, reserve power, and reciprocity (similar to the "Golden Rule").

Confucianism offers, therefore, no ready-made scheme of salvation or short cut to virtue through faith or magical ceremonies such as baptism or circumcision, but an austere discipline of the self by one's self. In its emphasis upon the human will it strongly resembles the Stoicism of classical Greece and Rome. In the classics the great Chinese sage, as reported by his disciples, expounds man's relations to his fellows, to the members of his household, and to the state which he regards as a larger household. The doctrine of the mean or path of moderation is taught throughout. The man capable of following this pathway is described in glowing terms. "It is only he, possessed of all sagely qualities that can exist under Heaven, who shows himself quick in apprehension, clear in discernment, of far-reaching intelligence and all-embracing knowledge, fitted to exercise rule; magnanimous, generous, benign and mild, fitted to exercise forbearance; impulsive, energetic, firm and enduring, fitted to maintain a firm grasp; self-adjusted, grave, never swerving from the mean and correct, fitted to command reverence; accomplished, distinctive, concentrative and searching, fitted to exercise discrimination; all-embracing is he, and vast, deep, and active as a fountain, sending forth, in their due seasons, his virtues." ("Chung-yung"; or, The Doctrine of the Mean, c. XXXI, V. 1, 2.) Such a system of thought and belief does not lend itself to evangelical fervor or to religious intolerance, and has, so far as I know, never been propagated by missionary methods. It was studied and to a certain extent borrowed on its intrinsic merits by the Koreans and Japanese.

Taoism in its more philosophic aspect teaches only a shadowy and impersonal Supreme Being. It is mainly a quiescent and mystical doctrine which deprecates much concern with

the affairs of this world. "The sage keeps his mind in a state of indifference to all." (Tao-teh-king," XLIX, 3.) In its popular form it has degenerated into a system of magic. In neither form has it had any missionary activity and very few reformers.

China presents the most stupendous example of religious toleration in the history of mankind. For nearly two thousand years the San-chiao or Three Religions—namely, Confucianism, Taoism, and Buddhism—have existed side by side with almost no persecution. A large proportion of the Chinese take part in all three religions. Here is no fertile field for the growth of missionary zeal.

A similar situation exists in Japan. Shinto is a chauvinistic religion which can have no significance for any other country. It has never persecuted or proselytized but has only required loyalty to the nation. It has been tolerant toward Confucianism, Taoism, and Christianity, and now shares the field with Buddhism with the utmost equanimity.

The preceding comparison indicates that there is a greater modicum of thought in Brahmanism, Buddhism, and Confucianism than in Christianity or Mohammedanism. This is largely due to the fact that Oriental religion includes practically all of the philosophy and most of the very little science which the Orient has developed. Most of this is contained in the Upanishads of Brahmanism, the Buddhist Tripitaka, especially the third or Abhidhamma Pitaka, and the Yi-king or Book of Changes, the most philosophic of the Confucian classics. In Chapters IV and V I have mentioned some of the philosophic ideas and cosmological systems evolved, especially by the religions of Indian origin. The eastern Asiatic peoples have displayed less interest in philosophic problems. The Yi-king contains occasional observations more or less scientific in their character, such as that "the successive interaction of the passive and active forces constitutes what is called the flow of phenomena." But this book has been used in the main for purposes of divination.

The contemplative life fostered by some of the Oriental religions has also had its influence. In one of the Upanishads it is said: "Only those of tranquil minds, and none else, can attain abiding joy, by realizing within their souls the Being who manifests one essence in a multiplicity of forms." The Indian rishis or sages of old "were they who having reached the supreme God from all sides had found abiding peace, had become united with all, had entered into the life of the Universe." But the kind of thought inspired by such a life could not result in science. As I have pointed out in Chapter V, in India an ardent interest in religion, a strong tendency toward cosmological and metaphysical speculation, and an intense desire to transform the personality by methods which encourage introspective rather than objective habits of thinking were antithetical to the inductive and experimental methods which are essential for science. In China ancestor worship and filial reverence gave rise to a conservatism and self-satisfaction which effectually prevented the radical departure which science and its application require.

The sacred scriptures of every religion contain its theology, ethics, and ritual, mingled with a good deal of myth and alleged history. The Bible and especially the Koran contain less philosophic reasoning and speculation than the above-mentioned Oriental scriptures. Christianity and Islam attach little significance to the contemplative life, because faith and action rather than thought and meditation are emphasized and lauded.[2] Ecclesiastes is perhaps the most philosophic book

[2] The second Sura of the Koran begins as follows: "There is no doubt in this book; it is a direction to the pious, who believe in the mysteries of the faith, who observe the appointed times of prayer, and distribute alms out of what we have bestowed on them, and who believe in that revelation, which hath been sent down unto thee and that which hath been sent down unto the prophets before thee, and have firm assurance of the life to come: these are directed by their Lord, and they shall prosper. As for the unbelievers, it will be equal to them whether thou admonish them, or do not admonish them; they will not believe. Allah hath sealed up their hearts and their hearing; a dimness covereth their sight, and they shall suffer a grievous punishment."

in the Bible, and yet it ends in the following theological vein: "Let us hear the conclusion of the whole matter: Fear God, and keep his commandments: for this is the whole duty of man. For God shall bring every work into judgment, with every secret thing, whether it be good, or whether it be evil."

Partly owing to these characteristics of the Christian scriptures science developed almost entirely independent of religion, and philosophy has gradually freed itself from its early connection with theology. As I have indicated in Chapter V, the development of science gave rise to the empirical method and inductive logic, which in turn led to habits of thinking and reasoning markedly different from those of the Orient. Religion, theology, and the church have slowly and grudgingly yielded ground to the onward sweep of science in the Occident. The significance of this situation is that Western religion cannot bring to the Orient what is peculiarly lacking there—namely, science and a secular philosophy. Of religion itself the East has probably even more than the West.

It is usually assumed by missionaries and their supporters and sympathizers that the extent to which the Orient has adopted Occidental civilization is to be credited entirely to Christianity. This fantastic notion is due to the egregious error made by many Christians that civilization and Christianity are identical, and that all of the credit for the social progress which has resulted in civilization should be given to this religion. Japan alone furnishes ample disproof of this mistake on the part of the missionaries, for while it has adopted a good deal of Western culture, especially on its material side, Japan has completely repudiated Christianity. The true situation in this regard cannot be understood until it is clearly recognized that no cultural system can be attributed to any one religion, because every culture is derived from many and diverse sources. In its relation to Christianity this is much more true of Occidental culture, which had a very complex origin in Rome, Greece, Egypt, and other parts of the Mediterranean area, than it is of the Hindu

culture, which originated to a much greater degree from the Brahmanic religion, and of the Chinese culture, which was formulated to a considerable degree by the Confucian ethics and religion. And yet a missionary propagandist asserts that "the peoples of the West have derived their ideals of justice, freedom, opportunity, coöperation, and progress from no other religion than that of Jesus Christ." [3] The prevalence of this erroneous belief tends to increase the aggressiveness of the missionary attack upon the Orient and other non-Christian parts of the world.

An Indian critic of missions has said that the Orient concludes that the Western political method is first to send missionaries, second traders, and third gunboats.[4] While this method has not usually been followed consciously and intentionally, it has nevertheless often worked out in this fashion. Missionary work has been both the forerunner and the follower of Occidental imperialism. The establishment of political power has usually resulted in a large influx of missionaries. This cycle is well illustrated in India. The acquisition of power by Catholic countries—namely, Portugal and France—brought numerous Romanist missionaries. The establishment of British rule brought many Protestant missionaries. If the Orient should attempt successfully to acquire political power in the Occident, it is not impossible that such an outbreak of imperialism would incite a proselytizing spirit even in the non-missionary religions of the East.

The presence of missionaries and the establishment of missionary institutions, such as churches, schools, hospitals, and the like, have often furnished excuses for aggressive measures to secure more power. This is graphically illustrated in the case of British missions in China. Protection for these missions as well as for trade interests has been one of the reasons for demands for extraterritorial rights, spheres of influence,

[3] R. E. Hume, *op. cit.*, p. 234.

[4] J. J. Cornelius, "An Oriental Looks at Christian Missions," in "Harper's Magazine," April, 1927.

and the like, and the British Government has ever been ready on the slightest provocation to send gunboats for the protection of its missionaries and their institutions. The United States Government has been less aggressive in China, has never claimed a sphere of influence, and has advocated an open-door policy. But the American missionary investment is larger than the British, and is even larger than the American commercial investment.[5] So that American missionary interests have influenced its diplomatic policy greatly. The Catholic missionary investment in China is larger than the Protestant, and as much of it is French, the French Government has been active in demanding diplomatic protection for Catholic missions.

The missionaries have reciprocated, perhaps unconsciously, by being very chauvinistic, and often endeavoring indirectly when not directly to instil into the minds of their neophytes the benefits of Western rule as well as religion and culture. With comparatively few exceptions their influence has been against nationalistic movements, even when these movements were not directed against their own or other Christian governments. Thus in Turkey the missionaries always opposed the Nationalist movements of the Armenians and other subject races. In India this attitude is imposed upon the missionaries, whether they wish it or not. A missionary society, in order to secure permission from the British Government to carry on its work, must sign a declaration "that all due obedience and respect should be given to the lawfully constituted Government, and that while carefully abstaining from political affairs, it is its desire and purpose that its influence, in so far as it may be properly exerted, should be so exerted in loyal cooperation with the Government of the country concerned, and that it will only employ agents who will work in this

[5] Information Service Foreign Policy Association, New York, Vol. II, No. 25, February 16, 1927. According to this bulletin, the American investment in China is approximately $70,000,000 in commercial undertakings, and $80,000,000 in missionary enterprises, schools, hospitals, etc.

spirit." (British Memorandum A, Article 5: iii.) Individual missionaries also are required to sign this declaration. I do not mean to imply that missionaries should take part in nationalistic movements, but that they should remain neutral with respect to all political matters instead of becoming the agents, in a measure, of Western governments.

Needless to say, religious proselytizing is as legitimate as political propaganda, and missionaries are entitled to protection as much as traders, tourists, and other foreigners. But the correlation between missions and imperialism and their interaction upon each other are significant facts for cultural relations. They have resulted in a so-called "missionary statesmanship" in which missions and imperialism have specifically and more or less openly worked hand-in-glove for the joint spread of Christianity and political power. This is a conscious recognition of the subtle influence which is always at work, for the missionaries cannot help but recognize that the success of Christianity in the Orient depends entirely upon political power. Even where Western rule prevails, as in India, it is not likely to succeed. Lacking such power it is certain to fail. This is strikingly illustrated in Japan, where under complete national independence Christianity is a dead issue. Hence it is not surprising that Orientals come to regard missions as the vanguard and accomplice of imperialism. In China the Nationalist movement has turned against or at least its back upon the missionaries and their religion, and the same is true to a smaller degree of the Nationalist movements in India and other Eastern countries. Thus the cooperation between missions and imperialism has proved to be fatal for Christianity, though it is very doubtful if it could in any case have conquered the Orient.

In spite of its unhappy alliance with imperialism and the paucity of its cultural content, has missionary work introduced any Occidental culture to the Orient? Its educational institutions and methods, while strongly permeated with Christian doctrines, have nevertheless brought some knowl-

edge of Western language, literature, and even a little science. Its medical work has disseminated some information as to sanitation. It has encouraged a certain number of Orientals to go to Europe or America to study. Thus the missionaries, whose purpose is not cultural, have almost unwittingly introduced a little culture.[6] In this respect they are like the traders, whose purpose also is not cultural. But most of the imperialistic governments and some of the native governments have done vastly more than either the missionaries or the traders. The Government of India has accomplished far more in educational and sanitary lines than all of the missionaries put together. The Japanese Government has sent numerous young men and women abroad to study and has systematically and on a large scale introduced educational, sanitary, scientific, and industrial methods. The Chinese Government has done the same to a considerably smaller degree. Most if not all of this would have happened even if no Christian missionary had invaded the Orient.

Even when the missionaries have disseminated a little culture, they have done so usually in a harmful manner. Western education has been introduced at the expense of Oriental culture and has caused a certain amount of intellectual deterioration and social disintegration. Thus the mission schools in China have grossly neglected to recognize and emphasize Chinese literature, art, and social institutions. In India the missionaries have been shocked by features of Indian religion and customs which are immoral according to Occidental standards, and have, therefore, with few exceptions assumed a distinctly hostile attitude toward Indian culture. Their tendency is to picture the West in glowing colors to the East, but to report only the unfavorable aspects of the East to their

[6] According to the Indian census of 1921, the religious communities ranked as to literacy in the following order: Parsees, Jains, Buddhists, Christians, Hindus, Sikhs, Moslems. Though the Christian converts are recruited mainly from the lower castes, outcastes, and aboriginal tribes, the literacy among the Indian Christians was three times as great as among the Hindus and more than four times as great as among the Moslems.

Western constituents. Otherwise they are not so likely to secure the financial support which their work requires. For all of these reasons an adjustment and harmonizing of Oriental and Occidental culture is not likely to be attained through missionary methods and activities.

This situation is due partly to the intrinsic character of Christianity, which I have already described, and partly to the traits inherent in the missionaries themselves. As a general rule, they are sincere but narrow-minded folk, with a strong tendency toward bigotry and fanaticism. Otherwise they would not enter this occupation. They are usually very patriotic and believe that they represent not only the sole "true" religion but also a superior culture. Consequently, their attitude toward the natives of the countries to which they are sent is usually one of supercilious condescension, which renders it all the more difficult for them to become acquainted with and appreciate the indigenous culture. These traits are intensified by isolation from the home country where they might be subjected to liberalizing influences. The broadening effect of travel is lost upon them because of the strong prejudices and preconceptions with which they leave home. Mission societies are very paternalistic in their organization, and missionaries are sure of their positions for life. They are shielded from competition and lack the stimulus of the keen rivalry which obtains in most professions and occupations. This situation encourages inefficiency, sloth, and intellectual lethargy.

I have known hundreds, perhaps thousands, of missionaries, some of them intimately. Often have I tried to secure accurate and detailed information from them concerning the countries in which they live and work, but usually without avail. Almost invariably their minds recur to their fixed idea—namely, that these heathen living in darkness must be "brought to Christ." Every other activity, educational, medical, and the like, must be subordinated to the saving of souls, for, indeed, in the words of the Bible, "what shall it profit a

man, if he shall gain the whole world, and lose his own soul?" They are prone to be hypercritical concerning the "morality" of native customs and institutions when they differ from the Occidental model, so that they are incapable of judging them impartially.

In a Chinese city where the feeling between the foreigners and natives was very tense I called with a letter of introduction upon an aged British missionary. I found him seated at his desk reading the New Testament in Greek. Though he has lived many decades in China, he could give me no information of value concerning the existing critical situation. He sent me to a younger colleague who knew me by reputation and received me very affably. In response to my desire to learn the Chinese point of view, he invited several native Christians to tea. But their bitterness against the foreigners was so great that I could not establish a friendly contact with them. In another Chinese city several British missionaries denounced the natives without restraint. The principal of a mission college who has taught the Chinese for more than twenty years stigmatized all of his students as liars.

A Japanese Christian clergyman took me to visit the Yoshiwara or principal district for brothels in Tokio. He displayed a good deal of irritation against Western criticism of the Japanese system of regulating prostitution, which he believes to be the best method for Japan. An American missionary who learned of this incident undertook to counteract its possible influence upon me by bitterly attacking the Japanese methods and moral ideas with regard to the ancient institution of prostitution. I could recount many more incidents which indicate the wide gulf which separates the missionaries not only from the native population at large, but even from their own converts. China's "Christian" general, Marshal Feng Yu-hsiang, who is one of the most belligerent and vociferous Christians I have met, denounced the missionaries as living too luxuriously instead of lives of sacrifice.

The remuneration of missionaries is considerably smaller than the average income of the foreign merchants and officials. Partly for this reason they live closer to the people, this probably being even more true of the Catholic than of the Protestant missionaries. Though they rarely ever adopt the native manner of life *in toto*, they invariably learn the language and become acquainted with the local customs. Despite these great advantages, their religious and moral biases are so great that it is doubtful if they come any closer to the real thought and inner life of the people than the merchants and officials. In fact, it is humanly impossible for any one with so narrow and unilateral a point of view as the average missionary to understand and appreciate another viewpoint. A few missionaries have furnished some information in their writings, such as S. W. Williams on Chinese history, J. Legge in translations of the Chinese classics, A. H. Smith on Chinese life, W. E. Soothill on Chinese religion, W. G. Aston on Japanese religion, and J. P. Jones on Indian life and religion. But the missionary bias is consistently revealed throughout their works, thus diminishing their value considerably.

Changes are nevertheless taking place in the field of missionary activities, though they are being forced upon the missionaries from the outside. Thirty years or so ago missionary "statesmanship" was busily occupied with a grandiose scheme for the "evangelization of the world in one generation,"and was confidently talking of the "conquest of the world for Christ." The passing of the years has revealed the obdurate indifference of the Orient to these facile schemes. The rapidly growing strength of the nationalist movements is arousing a renewed interest in the native cultures and an active resistance to the religion as well as other phases of the culture of the Occident.

The inevitable effect has been to decrease the emphasis on preaching, evangelizing, and proselytizing, and to increase the scope of the other activities of missionaries. Indeed, missionary work is being driven under the ground more and more

by Oriental nationalism and is becoming cloaked under the guise of education, medical work, social amelioration, sport and athletics, etc. Several times I have met Americans or Europeans who purported to be engaged solely in these or other occupations and discovered eventually that they were in reality missionaries in disguise. One of them went so far as to profess to me to be a devotee of an Oriental religion and later turned out to be one of the most virulent of Christian exhorters I have ever met. The Y. M. C. A. and to a less extent the Y. W. C. A. have been extending their activities. In Peking, Shanghai, Canton, Seoul, Bombay, Madras, Colombo, and elsewhere I visited large and stately Y. M. C. A. buildings which offer the usual facilities for instruction, recreation, physical development, and the like, with a minor emphasis upon proselytizing.

The point has already been reached where missionaries can hope to have much success only among groups which expect to gain material advantages by changing their religion. To-day this is chiefly true among the lower castes and outcastes of India who can improve their social status thereby. Christianity and Islam are now vying with each other to win neophytes from these lower social strata. I learned of a community of several hundred thousand outcastes on the west coast whose leaders were deliberating whether to choose the one or the other of these rival religions for their community. A native Christian missionary asserted to me that there are not enough clergymen to baptize the villages of outcastes which wish to embrace Christianity *en masse*.

The death-knell of a highly successful missionary enterprise in the Orient has already sounded. The missionaries and their supporters and sympathizers often aver that their new activities are as truly missionary as the old. But education is due to scholarship, medicine to science, and sport and athletics are derived from the traditions of pagan Greece and our barbarous Teutonic ancestors. Social work is inspired by the modern humanitarian movement which is due mainly to

factors other than Christianity.[7] The elevation of the position of women is due to the same movement. In fact, while engaged in such work missionaries are conveying various features of Occidental culture in general and not its religion in particular.

It has been suggested that an Oriental form of Christianity may evolve. In Japan a native Christian clergyman spoke to me of a Japanese Christianity. The American law of 1924 excluding Japanese immigrants is said to have encouraged the Christian independence movement. A writer on bushido, or the feudalistic and militaristic chivalry of the Samurai, suggests that it can be combined with Christianity.[8] Even a missionary writer, recognizing the great differences between Eastern and Western thought and customs, admits that Christianity may have to be modified in the Orient.[9] Under the pressure of the Nationalist sentiment there is already a slight tendency toward relinquishing the control of their churches to the native Christians. This is perhaps strongest among the American missionaries in China.

There are also attempts to combine Oriental and Occidental religion, or to create a sort of higher harmony through superreligions to which the devotees of any religion may belong. At Adyar near Madras I attended the fiftieth anniversary of Theosophy. Several thousand delegates were gathered from many countries of Europe and America as well as of the Orient. The scene had its incongruous features, such as the intensely British appearance of its high priestess, Mrs. Besant, the weakling she has chosen for its Messiah, the all-too-conscious attempts of some of the Westerners to imitate the dress and manner of the Indians, the pontifical mien of some of its leaders. Theosophy, Bahaism, and the like, probably are too artificial ways of attaining such a harmony, which, if it

[7] I have described these factors in detail in my "Poverty and Social Progress," New York, 1916, Chapter XVII, entitled "The Modern Humanitarian Movement."

[8] I. Nitobe, "Bushido, the Soul of Japan," New York, 1905, tenth edition, revised.

[9] J. P. Jones, "India: Its Life and Thought," New York, 1908.

comes at all, will have to be attained through a very extensive mingling and assimilation of peoples and cultures.[10]

To conjecture in detail as to the future is beyond the scope of this book, and to prophesy with assurance is futile. Nevertheless, I will venture to surmise that the Orient will not become Christian, and that in so far as Christianity persists as a minor religion in the East, it will be considerably modified. As the contact between East and West increases, Oriental religion will influence Occidental religion perhaps more than Christianity will influence the East, for the contemplative and quiescent features of Oriental religion are as yet little known in the West. But its tendency toward mysticism is not likely to have much influence because of the counteracting effect of science. In fact, science and the secular philosophy which is developing from science will be the most powerful influences upon religion the world over.

[10] At the beginning of this century Davids suggested that the meeting of Buddhistic and Occidental thought may cause a new movement of ideas during the twentieth century. He apparently had in mind a scientific and philosophic rather than a religious movement. There is little indication as yet of such a movement. (T. W. Rhys Davids, in "Great Religions of the World," New York, 1901, written by several writers.)

Chapter XIV

THE RISE OF ORIENTAL NATIONALISM AND CANTON

In Shanghai I could learn very little about conditions in Canton. Owing to the Cantonese strike against Hongkong then at its height, it was impossible to go from Hongkong to Canton. The S. S. *Astrakhan* of the Russian Volunteer Fleet was sailing direct to Canton. Foreigners in Shanghai warned me emphatically that it was most dangerous to go to Canton and to travel on a Russian vessel, asserting that the Russians cannot navigate properly and always carry munitions which, owing to their carelessness, are likely to explode. The American consulate-general informed me that the United States Government could not be expected to demand indemnity for damages sustained on board Russian vessels, because it refuses to recognize the Soviet Government. In spite of all of these friendly warnings, I engaged passage.

It took six days to sail through the hot China Sea and, passing outside of Hongkong, up the Pearl River. Of my many voyages at sea it was one of the most uncomfortable. The *Astrakhan* is an old cargo boat, with space for only a few cabin passengers. The decks were crowded with large oil containers. My state-room adjoined the engine-room and therefore was almost as hot as a boiler. The vessel was dirty, except where it had been recently painted, and there it was sticky from the heat. The bath-room was too filthy to use. The food was indigestible Russian cooking at its worst. There was little service for the passengers.

Accustomed as I am to travel on vessels under bourgeois management, it at first seemed to me that the crew lacked

discipline utterly. The sailors swarmed all over the ship apparently without let or hindrance. I asked the captain, who had been an officer in the czarist navy, whether or not he had any difficulty with the discipline. He replied that at first after the revolution it was difficult to maintain discipline, but that now it is easy to do so. Among the crew were several cadets who were studying to become officers in the mercantile marine. They dressed and worked like the rest of the crew. The first-class smoking-room had been turned into a reading-room for the crew and contained exclusively Bolshevist literature. Here in the evenings lectures were given to members of the crew by officers or passengers. In fact, I soon realized that the apparent absence of discipline was rather a more or less thorough application of the principle of democracy which was giving to the crew almost as many rights and privileges as to the officers and passengers.

The first night I carried my mattress and pillow forward and laid them on the hatch of the hold near the bow, where I slept in comfort under the stars. My choice met the approval of the crew. The following evening when I went forward, I found the hatch completely covered with the bedding of sailors who were following my example. I retreated to the upper deck, planning to take possession of one of the benches, but each of them was occupied by a sailor. Eventually I found a vacant spot under one of the boats.

My relations with my fellow-passengers and the crew were very pleasant, a friendly spirit pervading the whole vessel. In spite of the physical discomforts, the voyage proved to be one of the most interesting and enjoyable I have ever experienced. There were six Russians and one Chinaman besides myself in the cabin. One of the Russians represented the Siberian lumber interests and was searching for a market in China. He invited me cordially to visit him in Moscow. Two young Russians were taking moving pictures. One young fellow had been studying the mandarin dialect in Peking and was going to Canton to study the Kwangtung dialect. He told me that

he expects eventually to be attached to a trade commission. I did not discover the occupation of the two remaining Russians. The Chinaman was the private secretary of Sun Fo, the son of the late Dr. Sun Yat-sen.

When the river pilot came on board he turned the *Astrakhan* back to pass the night under the cannon of the fort at the mouth of the river, because pirates had looted a Chinese steamer a few days before. Early in the morning we steamed up the river and anchored at Whampoa, some miles below the city of Canton, because the channel is too shallow for a heavily laden vessel to go farther. After considerable delay the passengers were taken to the city in the launch of the Russian consul-general, upon whose deck knelt armed guards with loaded rifles to protect us from bandits lurking in the tall reeds along the river banks. On board were the agent of the Russian Volunteer Fleet and the representative of the Russian oil interests, who questioned me closely as to my purposes in coming to Canton. He told me that the launch would go only as far as the suburb of Tungshan, where the Russians had their headquarters, but that he would send for an automobile to take me to the Hotel Asia in the center of the city. However, it proved to be impossible to secure an automobile, so I went up the river in a motor-boat with a young Chinaman connected with the Central Bank, which was established by the Russians. He informed me that my luggage would be examined by the police, and I replied that I had nothing to conceal. I did not anticipate the experience which was ahead of me.

Dusk was falling as I landed opposite the Hotel Asia, which is one of the largest buildings in the Far East. Two coolies carried my bags into the lobby. As I glanced back into the street, I saw the young man who had accompanied me speaking to a man in uniform. Just as I was asking the clerk for a room, two men in uniform entered and demanded that I open my baggage, with which order I immediately complied. One

CITY OF BOATS, HONGKONG

of these men disappeared almost at once. The other, a very young fellow who I later learned was a Whampoa cadet, remained in charge of operations. He was assisted by three men with badges on their arms, who were strike pickets. The cadet, who was much excited, threw all of my belongings, such as clothes, books, papers, toilet articles, etc., upon the floor of the lobby. He ordered me to open my portable typewriter. In the excitement of the moment the key broke in the lock, so that I could not open it. This made him, whom unaccustomed authority had rendered somewhat mad, very suspicious. He shook the machine repeatedly in order to ascertain whether or not I had anything concealed therein.

In the meantime a large crowd had gathered in the lobby and at the entrance of the hotel to watch this performance. When asked my nationality, I showed my passport. The cadet and his assistants were too ignorant of English to be able to recognize it as an American passport. They would not accept the assurances of one or two bystanders who could read it. I whispered to one of the bystanders who seemed friendly to telephone to the American consulate-general. He replied that the wires to Shameen, the foreign settlement, were cut. It was obvious that my captors believed me to be British, or at any rate a spy or emissary of some sort. Finally they decided that I must go to the strike headquarters with my luggage. Accordingly in five rickshaws we rode a long distance along the Bund in the glare of light from the numerous tea-houses and the din of Canton's river front. Then after passing through one or two narrow streets and across a dark vacant space we drew up at the entrance to a park-like inclosure.

I knew that a few weeks earlier two British correspondents, who had ventured into the native city, had been seized and dragged to the same headquarters. There they were put in chains and told that they would be shot the following morning. Fortunately for them, their absence from Shameen was noted and the British consul-general sent a strong protest

and threat to the Canton Government which resulted in their release. But no one in Shameen knew that I was there, so that my situation was far from reassuring.

I was taken into a room furnished with a desk and several straw pallets. Numerous pickets came and went, many of them hardly more than boys. Most of them gazed curiously and tried their few words of English upon me. Presently came one who seemed to be their chief. Scowling blackly he accused me of being British. I showed him my passport, which he was unable to read. He repeated the allegation and made other accusations in a jargon of Chinese and English which I could not understand. Then he took me into another room where he searched my baggage. Photographs which I had secured in Japan and China seemed to intrigue his curiosity greatly. Eventually he told me that I must spend the night there. I recalled the experience of the British correspondents and my fate looked black indeed. I said that I had had nothing to eat since tiffin (it was now about nine o'clock), and he replied that if I would give him money he would purchase food for me. I waited hoping against hope that something would happen to bring about my release. Presently my keepers fell into an altercation among themselves. Several of them seemed to be having a heated argument with the man who had treated me most menacingly. Perhaps they believed that I was an American and not a spy or emissary, and were advocating my release. My hopes began to rise.

While awaiting the outcome of this altercation, I noticed that a young man who looked better educated than the others had entered the room. When I addressed him, he responded in excellent English. He told me that I must identify myself. I showed him letters making appointments for me with leading Chinese statesmen, and numerous other papers. Soon he was convinced as to my identity, but continued to treat me with suspicion. Finally I asked him whether I would have to spend the night there. He hesitated and then replied, "I think that is no longer necessary."

I expressed to him my desire to learn something about the strike organization. He replied that I could write to the strike committee for an appointment, but added, "Other writers and correspondents have come here professing a desire to learn the facts and then have gone away and written what is not true." Having received this uncompromising slap in my face, I left him and the strike headquarters and, accompanied by a picket, returned to the Hotel Asia.

During this trying experience I was cool and self-controlled. But I remembered later that the palms of my hands were damp with perspiration due to the severe nervous strain, the effects of which I felt for some time thereafter. It aroused in me a temporary distaste for China and the Chinese. There seemed to be something cold and almost inhuman in the Chinese character. My release was not due to human sympathy but because my captors realized that they had no evidence against me and that it would not be politic to molest me further. At the same time I recognized that their conduct was due to the situation in which they conceived themselves to be, and which they believed to justify their treatment of me. However, the nervous tension created in me by the hostile atmosphere persisted throughout my stay in Canton, and I dared not venture far from the hotel or the Bund, for in the smaller streets I was in greater danger.

The following morning I wished to get in touch with Shameen, which is an island separated from the central portion of the city by a narrow strip of water. I went to the two bridges which connect the island with the mainland. Both of them were effectively barricaded with entanglements of barbed wire. The previous evening I had learned that the telephone wires were cut and that the strikers would not permit native sampans to go there. Now it dawned upon me that the foreign concessions were completely cut off from the native city and that Shameen was in a state of siege. I began to feel myself trapped in this hostile city and to fear that I would not be able to escape for a long time.

At this moment I met a German business man who was wearing an armlet stating in Chinese that he was a German, in order to protect him from molestation. He listened to my story sympathetically, but said that I was in a difficult and dangerous position. He stated that, apart from the Russian consulate, the German consulate is the only one in the native city. He suggested that the German consul might be able to take me in his launch or a message from me to Shameen, and kindly offered to send me to the consulate in his private rickshaw. At the consulate I found its chancellor, who informed me with regret that the consul had just left for Shameen to secure his mail. He stated that the Chinese had forbidden the consul to serve as a means of communication with Shameen. He suggested that I might be able to communicate through the foreign staff of the customs. Accordingly I went to the custom-house, where I was told the same thing. However, in spite of this prohibition, one of the staff very kindly carried a message to the American consul-general, who came over with the captain of the American cruiser on duty there to see me. He rebuked me severely for coming to Canton unannounced, saying, "Why did you not cable me beforehand?" Recognizing that I had been foolhardy, I did not resent this reprimand. He then assured me that they would look after my safety. A day or two later the cruiser's launch came to take me to Shameen. Thence I went in a vessel operated by the British navy to Hongkong, where the orderliness and safety of life under the British flag were restful and soothing after the dangers and uncertainties of several months of travel in China.

These personal experiences illustrate in a graphic fashion many of the salient features of the situation in the Oriental city where nationalism and resentment against Western imperialism are at their strongest, and indicate what is likely to happen elsewhere in the clash between East and West. At the time of my visit in September, 1925, the situation in Canton was very confused. There were several kinds of authority,

or rather of assumed authority. The regular Government, which was perhaps no more legal than any of the other kinds of authority, had at its head a council of fifteen to twenty whose membership was divided between the moderate and radical wings of the Kuomintang party. This is a nationalistic and patriotic party which has for many years exercised much influence in Canton and elsewhere in China.

The strike committee into whose hands I fell was organized to carry on the strike and boycott against the British crown colony of Hongkong, which the Chinese regard as the supreme illustration of British imperialism. The committee prohibited the Chinese and all kinds of goods from going to or coming from Hongkong. Its pickets watched the city, the river, and the railroad to Kowloon, a suburb of Hongkong, in order to enforce this prohibition. It continued to play a prominent part in the control of the city until the strike gradually broke down a few months later. Its methods were entirely illegal or extralegal. For example, strikers from Hongkong, who tried to return there and were captured, were bound and exposed naked in the sun along the Bund in Canton. The Government permitted it to use these methods probably in part out of sympathy with its objects, but also because it did not dare at the moment to oppose it.

The Cantonese labor unions are well organized and have long exerted a strong influence over the Government. Many of their leaders occupy important governmental positions, and the unions perhaps constitute the most permanent and lasting factor in the Canton situation.

The Whampoa cadets came originally from the naval school at Whampoa near Canton. Recently they have been increased by many recruits who have come to a considerable extent from outside of Kwangtung, the province of which Canton is the capital. They have been drilled by the Russians and are said to be the most efficient military organization in South China. At that time they constituted the most effective guarantee for the continuance of the radical régime.

Russian influence could be discerned back of all these different kinds of authority. The Bolsheviki have been active in Canton for several years and have found it the most fertile field for their propaganda in China. They are said to have spent much money there. In 1924 they established the Central Bank, through which they were endeavoring to maintain a financial control. They had taken possession of Kwangtung University and were using it as a breeding ground for their ideas.

The Cantonese considered themselves at war with the British after the Shakee Road riot in June, 1925, in which many Chinese were killed and wounded. This was indicated by their treatment of the British in the native city, by the strike and boycott against Hongkong, by the siege of Shameen, and by their suspicious attitude toward foreigners whom they thought might be spies and emissaries of the British. My own experience was reminiscent of my travels in belligerent countries in Europe during the recent war, when I often saw the same silly war madness displayed on a much larger scale.

In the river was lying a large fleet of foreign war vessels including British, American, French, Japanese, Italian, and Portuguese ships. On the island of Shameen were Indian and Indo-Chinese as well as European troops. The Cantonese did not dare to attack Shameen, because they knew that the warships would retaliate by bombarding the native city. But business in Shameen was at a standstill. All the foreign women had been removed to Hongkong. The men were idly marking time and very much bored. All food and other supplies were brought from Hongkong under naval protection. In the meantime direct maritime connections were being established between Canton and the outside world, and the Chinese were taking away much of the trade formerly handled by Hongkong and Shameen.

I asked a high official of the Cantonese Government whether its leaders intended to make Kwangtung independent of China. He replied, yes and no. At present, said he, we con-

sider ourselves independent of the Peking Government. But it is our intention eventually to dominate the whole of China and make Canton its capital. I remarked that Canton is not well located geographically to be the capital. To this he agreed and said that after the Cantonese control was firmly established they might transfer the capital to a more suitable location, such as Nanking. Since that time they have attempted to make Wuchang opposite Hankow on the Yang-tse-Kiang River the capital.

The situation in Canton has been similar to that elsewhere in China, but with a stronger nationalistic and anti-imperialistic sentiment. There have existed the same decentralization and confusion of authority. Civil wars have been common occurrences. After a war between the Cantonese and the Yunnanese in 1924 or 1925, in which Canton won and the Yunnanese had surrendered and been disarmed, hundreds of them were butchered in the streets of Canton. "Squeeze" or bribery has perhaps been as widespread as elsewhere in Chinese governmental circles. The anti-foreign and especially the anti-British feeling has been stronger and the Bolshevist influence more prevalent than anywhere else.

The reasons for the differences between Canton and the remainder of China are not altogether easy to determine. They are often attributed exclusively or almost entirely to the racial differences between the Cantonese and other Chinese. The Cantonese are smaller in size and apparently more excitable in temperament. The latter trait may make them more prone to go to extremes. The Kwangtung dialect varies greatly from the mandarin dialect of the north. Their geographical isolation, due to mountain ranges over which a railroad from the north has not yet been constructed, has set them somewhat apart. It has made the Cantonese distinguish themselves rather sharply from the rest of China. They often call themselves Men of T'ang while the northern Chinese call themselves Sons of Han. But these differences alone do not furnish a sufficient explanation for the other differences mentioned.

It is difficult to explain why Canton is more anti-foreign than other parts of China. The Cantonese have for many centuries been a seafaring people, and have thus become acquainted with other lands and peoples. The early foreign trade of China was almost entirely through Canton. The first European colony was the Portuguese settlement in the sixteenth century at Macao near the mouth of the Canton River. While the foreigners have at times treated the Chinese very badly, their trade was very profitable to the Cantonese and contributed much wealth to this great commercial city. So that contact with the foreigners furnished some reason for friendly as well as for hostile feelings.

The so-called "opium war" of the fifth decade of the nineteenth century started at Canton and resulted in the taking of Hongkong by the British. It is doubtful if the memory of this war has had much influence in recent times. Hongkong has maintained a powerful commercial and financial control over Canton, and this control the Cantonese have deeply resented and have been trying to break. This probably is the most important historical factor for anti-foreignism in Canton.

The immediate reasons are to be found in the late Dr. Sun Yat-sen and the Russians. After Dr. Sun failed to carry out his plans for China, partly because he could not secure the assistance he had anticipated from the United States and Great Britain, he retired in high dudgeon to Canton, whence he originally had come, and established his quasi-independent government. In this mood the Bolsheviki found him amenable to their propaganda of Chinese nationalism and anti-foreignism. This propaganda is inconsistent with the internationalist philosophy of socialism and communism and is already reacting upon themselves most disastrously. With amazing shortsightedness they pursued this policy throughout China, blind to its inevitable consequences upon themselves as well as upon other foreigners in China.

If the Russians had adopted a constructive policy of education in Canton, they might have induced the Cantonese to adopt the soviet system. Whether or not this would have succeeded, it would have been a valuable political experiment and would have aided materially toward deciding the important question as to what form of government is to be chosen by China. But they devoted themselves largely to stirring up the stupid passions of chauvinism and the blind hate of anti-foreignism, instead of endeavoring to propagate internationalism and anti-imperialism. Thus they contributed materially to the confusion which already reigned before they commenced their clumsy and blundering propaganda. Numerous withdrawals of soviet agents from China indicate that the Moscow Government has recognized that Bolshevist zeal has overreached itself. The Chinese and even the Cantonese themselves have recently been expelling the Bolshevist representatives and propagandists from China.

I saw many other indications of nationalistic and anti-foreign feeling in China. In Soochow I faced for a time a menacing crowd. In Shanghai I walked unwittingly into a riot two or three minutes after an American was knocked down and nearly beaten to death, but, fortunately for me, after the police had succeeded in gaining control of the mob. In Peking I witnessed a student demonstration in front of the Imperial Palace and opposite the British legation, behind whose silent walls bristled many guns.

The Chinese situation has been aggravated by the lack of a stable central government, civil wars between the militarist leaders, the traditional contempt for foreigners, and Russian propaganda. It would, however, be a grievous error to regard recent events as of only passing significance. They are symptomatic of the rising tide of nationalism and of the reaction against Western imperialism. This is taking place not only in China and India, but also in the smaller countries, such as Indo-China, Java, and the Philippine Islands. The above de-

scription indicates clearly that the paramount danger is that this nationalism will be deeply tinged with a bitter hatred of the Occident.

Heretofore nationalism has been weaker in the East than in the West. Powerful Oriental states have usually been based upon despotism and not upon a highly developed national unity. Chauvinistic Japan has been almost the only exception. China has never had a strong central government, though possessing a high degree of cultural unity. India has always been a congeries of states and peoples with different languages and customs. But the steadily increasing recognition of Western exploitation is strengthening national feeling. The European War disillusionized the Orient as to Occidental superiority and unity. The East is learning political nationalism and militarism of the modern type from the West. Thus in India there is a strong agitation for an Indian Sandhurst or training school for native army officers. Obstructionist methods against the Government are being used by several of the political parties. The chief obstacle is the religious stumbling-block—namely, the conflict between the Hindus and the Moslems. If these religious communities would compose their differences and quell their hatred for each other, India might soon present a united front against Western domination.

The outcome of this situation is likely to be a unification of the Orient against the Occident. Although modern Japan has often found it to be to its interest to coöperate with Western powers, in the long run it will probably cast its lot with the Orient. There is danger of an Oriental race prejudice developing against the white peoples. Already the prejudice against the dark peoples is arousing a hostile reaction on the part of educated Easterners, who would otherwise like to retain close cultural relations with the Occident. All of these factors are serious hindrances in the way of the interpenetration and mutual assimilation of culture.

Chapter XV

ORIENTAL IMPERIALISM AND JAPANESE RULE IN KOREA

After crossing the strait of Tsushima in the night boat from Shimonoseki to Fusan, I was accosted by a Japanese police official who, when he ascertained my identity, offered courteously to telegraph to the officials in Seoul that I was coming. While awaiting the departure of my train, I questioned him about Korea. He immediately burst forth into a harangue concerning the ignorance, idleness, and inefficiency of the Koreans.

The following morning I sat in the office of the governor-general of Korea, Viscount Saito. This genial and kindly gentleman presents a pleasant contrast to the military men who preceded him, the notorious generals Terauchi and Hosegawa. They left behind themselves a hearty detestation which they had earned by the torturing and massacres which characterized their administrations. Terauchi added to his notoriety by means of his repressive war ministry from October, 1916, to October, 1918.

I questioned the governor-general as to the significance of Korea in the relations between Japan, Russia, and China. He referred me to the Foreign Office in Tokio. I told him that I had recently been at the Foreign Office and wished his own view of the situation, but he refused to answer. Then I asked him if it is not the policy of the Japanese Government to grant self-government eventually to Korea, either as an integral part of Japan or as a self-governing dominion. He replied rather vaguely, as if agreeing in principle, but passed immediately and hastily to a discussion of the ignorance and inefficiency of the Koreans and their great need of education.

This is the characteristic note of the Japanese officials in Korea. Much of what they say is true. Prior to annexation by Japan in 1910, Korea suffered from the rule of the corrupt and inefficient Yi dynasty. Its Government followed a stupid policy of isolation and was at one time and another the catspaw of China and Russia. The common people were the helpless prey of the kings and *yangbans* or nobles. Ignorance and inefficiency are inevitable consequences from one of the worst régimes which has existed in modern times. Japanese rule could not fail to be a vast improvement in many respects.

The annual reports of the Government-General of Korea furnish a full record of Japanese accomplishments. They describe the reorganization of the finances, improvement of banking facilities, establishment of many schools, encouragement of agriculture, forestry, fishery, and industry, improvement of rivers and harbors, construction of railroads, improvement of sanitary conditions, and many other material improvements. According to the Japan Year Book, 1927, the native population rose from 13,128,780 in 1910 to 19,519,927 in 1925, an astounding increase, if true. All of these facts have been amply made known to the world. There is another side to the story which is not so well known.

The officials in Tokio and Seoul courteously furnished me every facility for seeing their side. I was determined to become acquainted with the other side as well, which many visitors fail to see, partly because they are personally conducted by Japanese officials. A group of Koreans in Seoul invited me to lecture on a non-political subject. The chairman of this meeting was the editor-in-chief of the leading Korean newspaper and the interpreter the principal of a school. Each of these gentlemen had spent three years in prison for political offenses. Through such men as these I was able to view the other side of the shield.

While it is impossible to take a plebiscite, well-informed Koreans and foreigners who have lived a long time in the country agree that the vast majority of the inhabitants are

unalterably opposed to Japanese rule. This is to be expected on the part of the population of any country under alien domination. There are special reasons for it in Korea.

Before me lies a June, 1925, issue of the Korean newspaper with the largest circulation. About a column and a half has been blotted out. This was an editorial which was suppressed by the Japanese censor. During the same month nine editorials and news items were suppressed in this paper. One of these was a despatch stating that certain groups of Koreans in Manchuria had telegraphed their sympathy to the Chinese strikers in Shanghai. All of the Korean newspapers are censored in similar fashion. In other words, not only is the expression of opinion narrowly restricted, but the Koreans are prevented from receiving news which the authorities consider detrimental to Japanese interests.

There is a rigorous censorship of the mails. Both Koreans and foreigners have observed that in certain cases foreign letters are delivered more slowly to Koreans than to foreigners. In the post-office there is a list of persons requiring first, second, or third degree of attention according to the extent of suspicion directed against them.

Torturing has ceased. But there are numerous political prisoners in different prisons. Many of them are charged with robbery, blackmailing, and similar crimes. In some of these cases the prisoners have been guilty of trying to extort money for the independence movement, so that their crimes have a political aspect, though their methods may not be justifiable.

All of this indicates that freedom of speech, especially of political discussion, is non-existent in Korea. No public meetings are permitted without the approval of the police. Needless to say, meetings concerning independence, self-government, or anything remotely connected with these subjects are sternly prohibited.

The Japanese have established many schools, but the education given therein is intended to Japanize the younger generation of Koreans. This is best indicated by a few quotations

from a recent governmental report. "After the annexation, investigation of the educational system and expansion of educational organs were planned, with the object of giving the people a sound education and transforming them into loyal subjects in accordance with the Imperial Rescript on Education." This rescript was promulgated by the Emperor Meiji to the Japanese people in 1890. It is a mediæval mixture of autocratic paternalism, blatant nationalism, and a few trite moral aphorisms. It is now being inflicted upon the Korean children. "The cultivation of a national and individual character is of paramount importance in any education, so the new régime demands in the education of young people that they shall be taught to respect the ancient virtues and traditions, to develop a sound and loyal spirit, and above all, to cherish the idea of human brotherhood and social service, whilst aspiring to gain mastery of the national language."

The gist of the above quotation is in the last clause. By the "national language" is meant not the Korean but the Japanese language. "After the annexation the universal use of Japanese as the national language was particularly aimed at, and common schools were required to allot 8 to 12 hours a week to the Japanese language, and also to make fair use of it in teaching other subjects, while higher schools were encouraged to use it as the ordinary medium for giving instruction in addition to making it one of the subjects of study, and in March, 1912, the reformed regulations for private schools added to their curriculum the Japanese language and morals as obligatory subjects."

I was taken to a common school in Seoul where all of the subjects are being taught in Japanese, while Korean is taught as if it were a foreign tongue. The Japanese authorities claim that the Japanese language is not only economically more profitable but also admits the Koreans to a more extensive literature and culture than the Korean language. The Koreans assert that it is a great strain upon the children to be forced to study all subjects in a language other than their mother

tongue. They anticipate with foreboding the extinction of their language if this process continues through several generations.

Another feature of this process of Japanization which is very irritating to the Koreans is the changing of place names. When written in Chinese characters, these names are pronounced otherwise by the Japanese. Korea is called Chosen. The capital, Kyong-song, known to foreigners as Seoul, has become officially Keijo. Pyong-yang has become Heijo. Inchyong, known to foreigners as Chemulpo, has become Jinsen. Kai-song, now called Songdo by the Koreans, has become Kaijo. Yong-san has become Ryuzan. This resembles the behavior of the French in the occupied zone of Germany. In 1919 I motored with American officers throughout the occupied zones. In the French zone translations had been placed above the German street names. Thus Hauptstrasse became Rue Grande, Fischmarktstrasse became Rue du Marché des Poissons. In none of the other occupied zones—namely, the American, Belgian, British, and Italian—did I observe this gratuitous annoyance to the native population. The explanation that the soldiers of the French army of occupation needed these translations was not convincing, for the soldiers of their allies fared very well without them.

The Japanese Government is trying to impose Shinto, its chauvinistic religion, upon the Koreans. "In August, 1915, regulations were promulgated relating to shrines and prescribing the form of the ceremonies to be observed. By the end of the year under review (1923) permission had been given for the establishment of 37 important shrines and 61 shrines of a lower order, and for the appointment of 32 officiating priests. Among them the greatest is the Chosen Shrine, at which Amaterasu O-mikami, who created Japan, and the late Emperor Meiji, who founded modern Japan, are to be venerated. This was started in 1920 and is still in the course of construction." This shrine is located upon a hill overlooking Seoul which was formerly a favorite resort for the inhabitants

of the capital city. Inasmuch as the emperor has not yet issued a rescript to the effect that the Koreans as well as the Japanese are descended from Amaterasu, the sun goddess, the Koreans have no reason to be interested in this "divine ancestress." As for the Emperor Meiji, inasmuch as he deprived the Koreans of their independence, they have as much reason to love him as the Americans have to love King George III of England. The Japanese authorities require the Korean schoolchildren to march up the hill and bow before it. To build this shrine is the same as if a conqueror of America should erect a statue of George III in the place of the Statue of Liberty in New York harbor.

When Korea was annexed, the Japanese emperor accorded to the Korean royal family all the honors and privileges enjoyed by Japanese princes and princesses of the blood. An annual grant of 1,500,000 yen was given to the Prince Yi household, which was in 1921 raised to 1,800,000 yen. A new peerage, including some of the former *yangbans,* was created, and to these peers were given monetary grants. Inasmuch as the woes of the Koreans were due largely to the Yi dynasty and the *yangbans,* it was singularly inappropriate to burden them with these expenses for the benefit of their oppressors. The Japanese Government may have done so in part to mollify some of the older and more conservative of the inhabitants, to whom the maintenance of the dethroned imperial house would serve as a sort of symbol of their former national independence. It was probably done more for the purpose of upholding the myth of the divine right and character of royalty. It is not expedient for a dynasty to put an end to another dynasty, because it thereby establishes a dangerous precedent which may be applied to itself later. A former king of Portugal, exiled from the Portuguese Republic, is able to live in a semi-regal state in imperial England, and an ex-emperor of Germany in similar fashion in monarchical Holland. The Japanese Government apparently intends eventually to assimilate the Korean into the Japanese imperial family. The late

SONGDO (KAIJO), KOREA

KOREAN WOMEN WASHING CLOTHES IN BROOK, SONGDO

Prince was a weakling who knew only the Korean language and saw very few people. His younger brother, who succeeded him, was taken to Tokio in his boyhood and educated in the Peers' School and the Military Academy. He is now an officer in the Japanese army and is married to a Japanese princess, so that it will be easy through him to merge the Korean into the Japanese imperial family.

There are many charges of discrimination between the Korean and the Japanese officials, but the Government asserts that such discrimination is rapidly being eliminated. "In October, 1919, the regulations relating to the status and pay of Korean officials were annulled, and in their stead those for Japanese officials were made to apply with the object of doing away with all objectionable discrimination between the two people in conformity with the grand principle of equality for all." But the Koreans assert that even though the nominal salaries may be the same for both, by means of extra allowances and bonuses the Japanese officials are favored. The number of Korean officials has been increasing. Recently one was appointed the head of a department. He is a former *yangban* who has become the chief of the department of education. When I told a Korean that I had met this gentleman, he replied contemptuously that he had been appointed to show off to foreigners. This may or may not be true, but the remark indicates something of the spirit which is now widespread in Korea.

There is nothing in the nature of self-government in Korea. In 1920 were created some local advisory councils, which may lead eventually to local self-government. They are provincial councils which are only partially elective, municipal councils which are elective under certain property qualifications, and village councils which in most cases are appointive.

Though they have as yet no political freedom, the Koreans think that their worst days of political persecution are past. They believe that they are now being subjected to an even more dangerous process of economic exploitation. They aver

that they are gradually being dispossessed of the land, and that it is the intention of the Government to replace the Koreans with Japanese settlers. They assert that more than 30 per cent. of the total area is already owned by the Japanese and that a considerable part of the remainder is mortgaged to the Chosen Industrial Bank or the Oriental Development Company. The Japanese Government has stated that it is back of both of these institutions. The Oriental Development Company advertises among its objects that "the following business will be conducted in Chosen and other foreign countries: Supplying necessary funds for the promotion of colonization; Acquiring, maintaining and disposing of agricultural enterprises, water utilization and lands for colonization purposes; Collecting and distributing emigrants for colonization; Constructing, selling, buying and renting of buildings needed for emigrants; Supplying articles to emigrants or agriculturists needed for colonization, and distributing their products," etc.

This statement makes it clear that the principal object of this company is to encourage Japanese colonization in Korea. The Japanese settlers increased from 171,543 in 1910 to 411,595 in 1924, and form over 2 per cent. of the total population. The Koreans assert that land is sometimes secured by obtaining control of the sources of irrigation water and then cutting off the water, thus forcing Korean owners to sell cheap. When land has been secured, the Korean tenants are often forced to leave and Japanese colonists are brought in their place. The dispossessed Koreans usually have to emigrate to Manchuria, because there is little work available in Korea, which is a country with few industries. It is estimated that there are already two million Koreans in Manchuria and two hundred thousand in Siberia.

It is impossible at present to procure adequate proof of these charges. I asked for statistical evidence and was told by the Koreans that they have not the funds necessary to secure these statistics, and that in any case they believe that the Government would put obstacles in the way of gathering all

of the facts. The following figures of real estate ownership in Seoul are available. In 1925, according to the tax returns, 588 cho (a cho is nearly two and a half acres) were owned by 3665 Japanese and paid 143,712 yen of taxes; 532 cho were owned by 18,637 Koreans and paid 97,002 yen of taxes; and 39 cho were owned by 247 foreigners and paid 10,006 yen of taxes. In other words, according to these figures, the Japanese not only owned more than half of the city but the most valuable land in the capital.

A foreigner who has lived for many years in rural districts told me that he believes that such a process is now going on. The grave problem of overpopulation in Japan impels the Japanese toward such a policy. So that while Japanese intentions are not as sinister as the Koreans are prone to believe, these charges against the Japanese probably have more or less foundation.

For many generations the Koreans have not had the opportunity to govern themselves, partly owing to their kings and nobles and partly because of the imperialism of China, Russia, and Japan. Korea furnished the occasion for the Sino-Japanese War of 1894-95 and the Russo-Japanese War of 1904-5. When President Woodrow Wilson was preaching his gospel of self-determination, many Koreans thought that their time had come. This was one of the reasons for the revolutionary outbreaks in 1919. Small armed bands of Koreans still keep up a guerrilla warfare along the border. When I mentioned this to the chief of the Police Department, he minimized the extent of this warfare and strenuously denied that it has any significance. It may be that Korea, like many nations in the past, is fated for national extinction.

The Japanese firmly believe that they must hold Korea for their own protection, and it would be impossible at present to shake this belief. Leaving aside the question of independence, there are many reforms which can be put into effect at once, and which would temper the rigor of Japanese imperialism. Every nation, like every individual, has blind spots in its eyes.

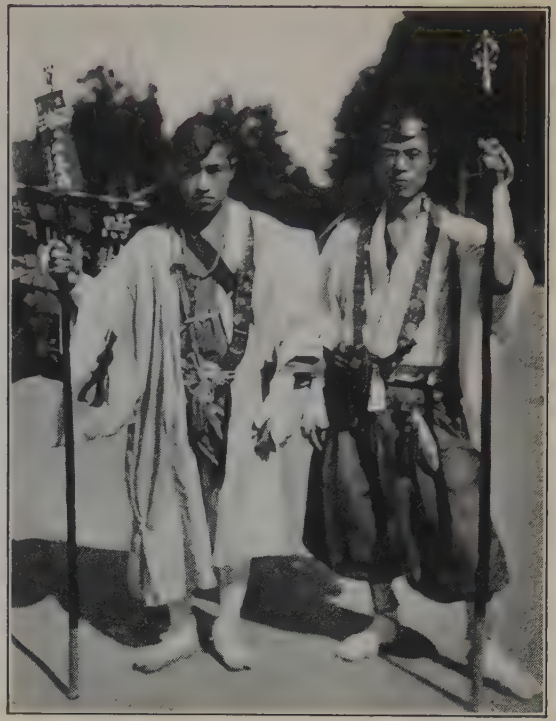
In Japan the rather naïve request was several times made of me to give "good advice" to the Japanese people. Even though Korea is a blind spot in the Japanese vision, I shall now venture for the first time to respond to this request with a few suggestions.

Freedom of speech, of publication, and of political discussion are essential features of modern civilization. No government can long deny them without injuring itself as well as its victims. The Koreans believe that the so-called "Peace Preservation" Law enacted in March, 1925, was intended especially for them. This barbarous law punishes with ten years of hard labor any one who tries to change the national constitution, and with seven years any one who instigates or even discusses such changes. This law is intended at least as much for the radicals, liberals, and progressives whom the Tories and chauvinistic government of Japan wish to suppress. In both cases the law will cause much more trouble than it will preserve the peace. By these methods the Japanese Government is driving the Koreans into the arms of soviet Russia, for the Bolsheviki love to fish in troubled waters. As a Korean, a graduate of an American university, said to me: "Koreans are yearning for a peaceful republican form of government, but the present tendencies, political, economic, and international, all force them toward bolshevism. Henceforth the question will be whether we will be starved to death or bolshevized."

The aggressive policy of Japanization should be greatly moderated. It is a constant source of aggravation to the Koreans and is in the main gratuitous. Whether or not Korea is to adopt Japanese culture eventually, it should not be forced upon it in this fashion.

It is natural and legitimate for the Japanese to want to do business in Korea. But the Koreans are economically much weaker. Consequently, the Government should take every measure to protect the interests of the Koreans. On the contrary, it has been giving many advantages to the Japanese. To exploit the helpless Koreans is a gross misuse of power.

KOREAN GENTLEMEN, SEOUL (KEIJO)



KOYASAN PILGRIMS, JAPAN

The Japanese Government should give an unequivocal promise of self-government in the near future. Korea should either be given autonomy or full representation in the Japanese Diet. Better still if the Koreans could be given a promise of a plebiscite on the question of independence to be held in a more distant future. But this is too much to hope for from the Japanese at present.

As for the Koreans, they should not ignore the many benefits which Japanese rule has brought to them. They should recognize that even if they were given independence at once, their fate would still be uncertain. They should be willing to exercise patience until the situation in the Far East becomes somewhat clearer and more stable. They are watching with great interest the course of events in China, and rightly so. If a strong and liberal Chinese government comes into being, it may aid Korea to remedy its wrongs without at the same time committing new injustices against it.

Japanese imperialism in Korea tempts comparison with American rule in the Philippine Islands. American imperialism has made many grave errors in the Philippines. It has not yet learned one lesson which the Japanese Government has mastered. Until death removed him in 1927, a general ruled in Manila, whereas a civilian had already ruled for eight years in Seoul. The American Government has not yet learned that military men are unfitted by training and temperament to govern a civilian population. In other respects the advantage is usually in favor of the United States. The Filipinos have a large measure of self-government. They send their own representatives to the American Congress to express their wishes there. They are free to agitate for independence. The American Government is seriously considering this question and is restrained in part by the fear that the islands may fall into the hands of an imperialistic power.

Japan has had its imperialistic adventures in the past. For a time during its early history it ruled Korea, which was said to have been conquered by the legendary Empress Jingo.

Later it conquered the island of Hokkaido to the north, and made conquests in northern Manchuria. In 1592 the great Japanese general Hideyoshi undertook to conquer China as well as Korea, but died in 1598 before he could attain his object.

At present Japan is the only Oriental power strong enough to follow an imperialistic policy. It is incited to do so by its excessive and growing population, its rapidly developing capitalism, which is seeking markets for its goods, and by the example of Western imperialism. Korea is the most striking example of its imperialism. It has also been notably imperialistic in its policy toward China, having taken Formosa and the Pescadores after the Sino-Japanese War, and territories in the province of Shantung and in southern Manchuria a few years later. This phase culminated in the notorious twenty-one demands of 1915 when the European War had distracted the attention of the Western powers away from China.

In Tokio in 1925 I discussed their Chinese policy with Foreign Minister Shidehara and Vice-Minister Debuchi. They asserted that during the preceding ten years it had changed entirely. They admitted that the twenty-one demands were not justified, and that public opinion, especially in the United States, had influenced Japan to cease from attempts at territorial aggrandizement and exploitation in China. They expressed satisfaction that the Washington conference of 1921-22 settled the Shantung question by inducing Japan to relinquish its claims in that Chinese province. They asserted that Japan welcomes all foreign capital which will help to industrialize China, raise its standard of living, and create a market for Japanese as well as Western products, and is unreservedly in favor of an open-door policy in China.

It is true that Japan has greatly modified its former policy of aggression in China proper. But in the recent difficulties in China it has been coöperating with the Western powers. It is continuing its aggressive program in Manchuria, where it

is clashing not only with China but also with Russia, as will be discussed in a later chapter. It maintains a powerful navy and a comparatively strong army and is in the forefront of the militaristic nations of the world.

While Japan is the most prominent exponent of modern Oriental imperialism, China was one of the most imperialistic of nations in the past. Much of the territorial growth of China proper was by force of arms. Tongking and Cochin-China were conquered about 214 B.C. Chinese armies marched as far west as the Caspian Sea during the Han dynasty (206 B.C.-A.D. 221), and conquered a considerable part of central Asia. They entered northern India, and as one result Buddhism came to China. Korea was conquered during the T'ang dynasty (A.D. 618-907). Burma was invaded about A.D. 224 and again by Kublai Khan about the year 1280. In 1766 began a war which made Burma a tributary state until Great Britain acquired complete suzerainty. So that French imperialism in Indo-China and British imperialism in Burma are the successors of Chinese imperialism. Within the last few decades Chinese punitive expeditions have vied with similar British expeditions into Tibet, which each would like to make its vassal state.

Indian states and other Oriental countries also have had imperialistic adventures. Indeed, any nation which acquires great military strength is likely to become imperialistic. If the Nationalist movement brings militarism in its train, it may give rise to a recrudescence of imperialism which will gravely menace the West, for the East has the advantage of numbers. In any case, it will seriously interfere with their cultural relations.

Chapter XVI

WESTERN POLITICAL THEORY AND CHINA

THE Bombay Courts of Justice reminded me of the Law Courts in London. It is a huge structure with a lofty tower designed in the Early English style. Through its corridors stroll barristers in wig and gown and in its court-rooms preside solemn judges clad in silk trimmed with ermine. Here I met Sir Chimanlall Setalvad, prominent barrister, vice-chancellor of Bombay University, and leader of the Liberals, a moderate political party. He asserted that while India must attain self-government, it has gained more than it has lost under British rule through what it has learned of English law and political institutions.

India has had these institutions imposed upon it, though in a modified form. The legal codes have very properly been adjusted to the native institutions, customs, and religions. The form of government has been shaped by the determination of its alien ruler to maintain its domination. The Assembly, councils, and provincial legislatures are only partially elective, and have limited powers. Nevertheless, Western political and democratic ideas have had influence in molding Indian thought. Even the native states, strongholds of autocracy for ages past, are being affected. Some of the more progressive, such as Mysore, Baroda, Travancore, and Cochin, have introduced a small measure of representative government. The self-government of the ancient village community survives very little if at all. An elaborate bureaucratic system of administration through commissioners, deputy commissioners, and magistrates has crushed out of existence practically all

village and local autonomy, except in the municipalities which are more or less self-governing.

Japan went to Europe in search of political ideas and institutions. It found the German model the most congenial, but unfortunately accentuated its worst features. While the divine right of kings has in Europe passed into the limbo of oblivion, it flourishes in its most virulent form in Nippon. I asked a professor in one of the imperial universities whether he believes that the emperor is descended from Amaterasu O-mikami, the sun goddess, and he replied affirmatively. Supported by this almost universally held superstition, the constitution and laws give the mikado far-reaching powers. He can convoke and prorogue the Diet and dissolve the House of Representatives. The ministry is responsible collectively to him, and the ministers of war and the navy, who must be a general or lieutenant-general and an admiral or vice-admiral respectively, are responsible individually to him and to him only. In fact, owing to this grotesque veneration for the emperor, his influence is even greater than the laws indicate. The Japanese political system is therefore largely autocratic, tempered until recently by the overweening influence of the Genro or Elder Statesmen, relics of the feudal period, who are now happily almost extinct, and by its usual accompaniment of bureaucracy. According to Occidental standards, the Japanese Government is undemocratic and irresponsible. But Japan has copied European and in particular German legal codes so successfully that even the most imperialistic power can no longer plausibly demand the extraterritorial rights formerly required by Western nations.

Most foreigners in China perceive little more than the filth and noise of its cities and acquire an unjustified contempt for it. This is particularly true of the treaty-port residents, most of whom have no interest in China other than to make as much money as possible. A few foreigners acquire the more amiable but naïve notion that Chinese civilization is the wisest and best which has ever existed. Both of these errors, and

especially the first, must be avoided if one is to understand the existing situation, even if it be in only a few of its manifold phases.

China now stands undecided as to what political institutions it will adopt. The outstanding feature of the present situation is the lack of a stable and permanent government. For internal affairs this fact is of supreme significance, and for its foreign relations it is of decisive importance. Hence I shall endeavor to describe briefly the causes for this governmental instability.

China, including Manchuria but not Mongolia and Turkestan, contains about 1,900,000 square miles, and perhaps as many as 350,000,000 inhabitants. This vast area is served by only 15,000 kilometers, or less than 10,000 miles of railroad. Several large provinces, such as Shensi, Szechwan, and Kansu, are not reached at all by the railway. All of the railroads have been constructed since 1881. Owing to inadequate means of communication, China has never had a strongly centralized government. There has been a high degree of local self-government in which the family and the clan have played an important part. Under imperial rule the viceroys were sent from Peking to govern provinces. But their functions consisted almost solely in securing financial and military contributions for the Imperial Government.

When the republic was established, it could not unify the country and create a strong central government at once. Many provincial and personal rivalries and jealousies stood in the way. The first president was Yuan Shih-kai, a former viceroy, who attempted to rule in the imperial manner, with his lieutenants stationed in various parts of the country.

Tong Shao-yi, the first prime minister of the republic, told me that he resigned from the prime ministership when he discovered that Yuan Shih-kai was trying to make himself emperor, because he foresaw the evil which this attempt would create and wished to oppose it. He asserted that Yuan was largely to blame for the irresponsible militarists now at large

in China. When he tried to become emperor, the provinces declared their independence and have not yet become unified again. Mr. Tong also alleged that the British assisted Yuan in his unscrupulous plot to aggrandize himself, and that the late Sir John Jordan, the British minister, received Yuan's sons at the British legation and addressed them as imperial highnesses. I am inclined to think that Mr. Tong exaggerates the effects of Yuan's villainous conspiracy, for a more or less chaotic state was in any case certain to exist. But the unprincipled Yuan doubtless aggravated the situation.

When Yuan passed from the scene in 1916, his principal lieutenants were able to divide the power among themselves most of the time for several years. Thus at one time and another his lieutenants Feng Kuo-chang, Tsao Kun, and Tuan Shi-jui were president or prime minister. But rival militarists were rising, jealous of their power. Chang Tso-lin, the so-called Manchurian "war lord"; Feng Yu-hsiang, the so-called "Christian" or "Red" general, and Marshal Wu Pei-fu have fought several wars which have devastated parts of northern China. In addition the smaller fry of militarists are at all times carrying on minor civil wars in various parts of the country. The quasi-independent Cantonese Government adds to the lack of union.

The number of men under arms varies greatly from time to time. The China Year Book for 1928 estimated that on October 1, 1927, it was 1,481,500. The present state of disorder has encouraged the bandits and pirates who have always been prevalent in China. Many of these bandits have been taken into the army, and in their depredations upon the people it is often difficult to distinguish between soldiers and bandits. While the armed forces are probably smaller proportionally than in most European countries, and warfare is not so efficient and therefore not so destructive and deadly as in the Occident, they are nevertheless a heavy burden upon the land.

The fiscal side of government is one of its most important

aspects. "Squeeze," which is the name in China for bribery and theft in government as well as in business, is, according to all accounts, as prevalent as in the past when taxes were farmed out to the highest bidders. The provinces appropriate as much as they can of the revenue of the Central Government. The *likin*, or tax on goods in inland transit, is usually collected by the local militarist or magnate and sometimes ranges from 10 to 20 per cent., though it was originally one tenth of 1 per cent. It does not contribute largely to the revenue of the Central Government, and is most disastrous to commerce and industry. There is little financial skill in governmental circles. The most efficient administration is in the maritime customs, which are managed by foreigners and furnish an assured revenue for the payment of debts and other governmental purposes. The Chinese are trying to abolish this efficient fiscal machinery, because it hurts their pride —that is to say, they "lose face" because something is done for them by foreigners.

In February, 1924, the Commission for the Readjustment of Finance estimated that the Central Government needs only four to five million dollars silver or less than three million gold a month, exclusive of its interest payments on the public debt. This is a mere bagatelle compared to the expenditures of the United States Government and of many European Governments. It could easily be raised with an agreement between the provinces and the Central Government as to the division of revenue, a scientific budget, and a consolidated debt, with adequate securities for interest and amortization. These are hardly possible under the existing unstable conditions. In the meantime many of the departments are much in arrears in the payment of salaries, and the Government can do very little educational and other constructive work.

In the present excitement it has become customary in China to hold the foreign powers responsible for this bankrupt state as well as for the instability of government. The foreign aggressions against China have been many and grievous. One

NORTH MAUSOLEUM OF MANCHU EMPERORS, MUKDEN, MANCHURIA

of them is the treaty limitation upon the import and export tariffs which holds them down to 5 per cent. This is wholly indefensible and should be abrogated. To be sure, when China acquires tariff autonomy it will probably make as bad a mess with a protective tariff as have the United States and many European countries. Already the Ministry of Commerce and Agriculture is advising the people to use only Chinese products. Nationalistic feeling will sweep the country along this stupid path which has already been followed by many other countries which should have known better. China has as much right to make mistakes as other countries, and will have to learn through bitter experience.

In view of these facts, it is an obvious error to attribute governmental instability and financial weakness in the main or even to a considerable extent to foreign influences. They are due to internal factors which foreigners have been able only slightly to affect. This allegation is likely to increase greatly the anti-foreign feeling with disastrous results for China as well as for the foreigners. That this feeling already exists is manifest to every one who has had much experience of China.

Even though there may not be another Boxer movement, serious catastrophes may be ahead for the foreign residents. Hence all extraterritorial rights cannot be given up immediately, nor can the concessions to which the foreigners were restricted at first by China itself be relinquished at once. These foreign concessions are highly appreciated as places of refuge by the Chinese themselves. The commissioner of police of the International Settlement in Shanghai told me that during a civil war between Kiangsu, the province in which Shanghai is located, and a neighboring province, there were no less than 278,000 Chinese refugees in the International Settlement. The editor of the Chinese newspaper claiming the largest circulation in China, whose editorial and publication offices are in the International Settlement, was telling me of certain restrictions imposed by the municipal authori-

ties. I asked him why they did not move into the native city. He replied that there they would not be safe from seizure by militarists. Some one connected with the Bank of China told me that the only branch of the bank which keeps a specie reserve is in Tientsin. "It is shameful to have to admit it," said he, "but the reason is that the Tientsin branch is in a foreign concession, where it is not likely to be plundered by militarists or bandits."

To this confused state the Bolsheviki are adding their contribution by increasing the dissension among the Chinese themselves. The Bolshevist propaganda is by no means universally accepted by the Chinese, even when it takes the form of stimulating nationalistic and inciting anti-foreign feeling. The Chinese are already fighting among themselves as to whether or not or to what extent they are going to accept or even tolerate the Russian propaganda.

In view of all these facts it is not surprising that the Chinese Republic has not yet a constitution, permanent organization, and codes of law. Needless to say, these are absolutely essential for a stable government.

The principal demand now being made by the Chinese of the foreign powers is for the abolition of extraterritoriality. This, they allege, is at the bottom of most of the foreign aggression and control in China. There is, however, a strong psychological factor back of this demand. Having seen not only Japan but also weak and comparatively insignificant countries, such as Turkey and Siam, liberating themselves entirely or in large part from extraterritorial restrictions, the Chinese find it humiliating still to be bound by them. It has therefore become a matter of national pride and honor to free themselves as speedily and as completely as possible. A discussion of the basis for extraterritorial rights will be illuminating as a comparison of Chinese and Western legal and political ideas and institutions.

Extraterritoriality involves certain disadvantages not only

for the Chinese but also for the foreign residents possessing these rights.[1] At least six disadvantages to the Chinese can be cited.

1. It is a derogation of national sovereignty which gives rise to the feeling of humiliation mentioned above.

2. It forces Chinese who become involved in cases with foreigners to deal with foreign courts with which they are not acquainted and which often are remote from their homes.

3. It necessitates foreign assessors in Chinese courts in cases where foreigners are involved.

4. It gives exceptional privileges to foreign-born Chinese who, by circumstances of birth, have acquired foreign nationality, as, for example, in Indo-China, the Straits Settlements, Hawaii, etc.

5. It has been abused by some of the consular and diplomatic representatives of several countries who have aided Chinese to import goods contrary to law, in a few cases have harbored criminals and helped them to escape, and in other ways have misused extraterritorial rights.

6. It is inevitable that foreign officials acting in a judicial capacity are sometimes biased in favor of their own nationals. (Chinese judges are, however, probably as likely to be biased the other way.)

Extraterritoriality involves at least five disadvantages to foreigners.

1. Under this system, except for purposes of travel, most of China is not open to foreigners, who have the rights to do business and own land only in the foreign concessions. With respect to the latter right, certain exceptions have been made in behalf of missionary organizations.

2. The foreigners have to deal with a multiplicity of courts, both foreign and Chinese.

[1] Professor Willoughby, formerly constitutional adviser to the Chinese Government, has stated these disadvantages in his excellent work on extraterritoriality. See W. W. Willoughby, "Foreign Rights and Interests in China," Baltimore, 1920.

3. The judicial officials in the foreign courts are usually consular officers who are not often trained in the law, and are therefore not specially qualified to perform judicial functions.

4. It is sometimes difficult to determine which law should apply, because not only Chinese but often several foreign systems of law are involved.

5. A foreign court has jurisdiction only over its own nationals, and lacks the authority which a court should possess over witnesses and other persons involved who may be Chinese or other foreign nationals.

In view of these disadvantages it is to the interest of foreigners as well as Chinese to abolish extraterritoriality as soon as possible. It was established chiefly because Chinese law and courts were not suitable for application to foreigners. Hence should be considered, first, whether the existing law is suitable; second, whether the Chinese courts are competent to administer this law; and third, whether they are sufficiently independent and free from interference by militarists to be able to do so.

I have discussed this subject with many prominent Chinese statesmen and judges, foreign diplomats, foreign advisers of the Chinese Government, and other persons whose opinions are of significance. The Commission on Extraterritoriality has furnished me all of its publications in European languages. I have spent some time in visiting Chinese courts and prisons. These experiences furnish a background against which I shall endeavor to set forth the salient points and indicate how they illustrate the differences between Chinese and Western political and legal theory and practice.

Early in the rule of the late Tsing or Manchu dynasty—namely, about the middle of the seventeenth century—was published the Ta-Tsing Lu-li or Tsing code of laws. It was in force until the downfall of this dynasty in 1912, and is still enforced by the courts in many matters concerning which there is as yet no republican legislation. Taken as a whole, it is unsuitable for application not only to foreigners but also

to the Chinese themselves under the republic. Several illustrations of its unsuitability will be given hereafter.

Apart from an attempt by the Emperor Kwang Hsu in 1898, which was aborted by the tyrannical empress dowager, China had no constitution prior to the republic. All authority was vested in the emperor, from whom came the law, and there was no charter to safeguard the rights and liberties of the people.

Since the revolution of 1911 there have been two provisional and three "permanent" constitutions. And yet China is still without a constitution which guarantees popular rights, describes the form of government, distributes authority and responsibility between its different branches, and thus furnishes a stable foundation for its political organization. This lack is due to disagreement as to the division of power between the central and provincial governments and between the executive and legislative branches of the National Government, provincial jealousy against the Central Government, rivalry between military leaders and political factions, civil wars, the attempts of Yuan Shih-kai in 1916 to make himself emperor and of Chang Hsun in 1917 to restore the Manchu dynasty, and the corruption within the Government. The last "permanent" constitution was proclaimed on October 10, 1923, under President Tsao Kun. A year later he was deposed and imprisoned by his enemies under accusation of having secured his election by bribing the parliament which made this constitution. It was abrogated, and whatever party has been in power since that time has been ruling without any constitutional authority whatsoever. A new constitution was drafted in 1925. No constitution can be put into effect until there is a stable and representative government.

All of these constitutions guaranteed to Chinese citizens equality before the law; that they should not be arrested, imprisoned, tried or punished except in accordance with law; the equivalent of habeas corpus; freedom of assembly, speech, authorship, publication, and of religion; right of private

property, etc. None of these rights were granted to foreigners in China. At present not even Chinese citizens are guaranteed these rights. So that the corner-stone for a democratic and republican system of law is still lacking.

Nevertheless, much has been accomplished toward codifying a modern legal system. Chinese law did not distinguish clearly between criminal and civil law. Disputes which in Occidental countries are taken to the civil courts for settlement were often decided in the temples, guilds, chambers of commerce, in family gatherings, or by the village chiefs and elders. Thus the civil law did not have much opportunity for development. Furthermore, there was not a clear-cut differentiation between judicial and administrative functions and officials. The judicial functions were performed largely by magistrates who were primarily administrative officials. They were not familiar with the law and often acted independently of it. Thus a magistrate might penalize an act which he considered wrong even though it was not stigmatized by the law as criminal. This was contrary to the fundamental principle of all modern law, that no act can be punished which has not already been characterized as criminal by the law. This situation offered numerous opportunities for abuse by unjust and tyrannical magistrates, governors, and viceroys.

The extension of trade, especially with foreign countries, the development of industry using large-scale methods of production, and the necessity of using corporate forms of business organization in order to accumulate capital for big enterprises required the adoption of a complicated system of civil law. Even during the last years of the Manchu dynasty the drafting of a system of commercial legislation was begun. A penal code had been prepared so that it was possible to promulgate a provisional criminal code on March 30, 1912, immediately after the revolution. Since that time much effort has been expended upon a civil code and upon regulations for both criminal and civil procedure. The Supreme Court has rendered many decisions, based sometimes upon the mod-

ern and sometimes upon the ancient law, furnishing a large body of precedents which will doubtless influence Chinese law in the future.

This work has been based upon a study of Occidental systems of law and aided by foreign advisers. It has been necessary to retain portions of the old law in connection with Chinese institutions not to be found in the Occident. One of the principal examples is the family. As is universally known, the family organization in China and other Oriental countries is much stronger and more complicated than it is in the West. In Chapter VI I have given numerous illustrations of how the family organization is recognized in Chinese law. They are sufficient to indicate the contrast between the Orient, where the family occupies the central position in social organization, and the Occident, where the state is regarded of supreme importance and where the individual is not subordinated and sacrificed to the family.

So long as these differences persist, foreigners should not be subjected to Chinese law with respect to personal status. Such a distinction would not embarrass the Government, for these are matters in which the rights and interests of Chinese and of foreigners are not likely to clash. In fact, apart from extraterritoriality, such distinctions are now recognized with respect to certain religious and racial groups, as, for example, the Mohammedans, to whom Koranic law is sometimes applied, and Mongols, to whom their own tribal law is sometimes applied, even though the various constitutions have declared that "Citizens of the Republic of China shall be equal before the law, without distinction of race, class or religion." [2]

[2] In this connection it is interesting to note that extraterritoriality was a common practice in Europe during the Middle Ages and earlier. "That a body of men in a foreign city should live under the law of their own home, or the law of their own making, did not appear extraordinary in the twelfth century. It was not so long since the principle that men carried the law of their home with them, had been widely recognized, and in all countries the clergy still lived under the law of the Church." (H. O. Taylor, "The Mediaeval Mind," London, 1927, fourth edition, Vol. II, p. 412.)

With a little revision the provisional criminal code should be acceptable to foreigners. It contains many of the features of modern penal law, such as suspension of sentence and conditional release. The civil code is still far from complete and much more labor must be expended upon it. The laws with respect to maritime commerce are very inadequate, and these laws are of special significance. The regulations relating to criminal procedure and those concerning civil procedure should be completed and arranged in an orderly fashion into codes.

The above survey shows that the first condition for the abolition of extraterritoriality—namely, a suitable system of law—will not be fulfilled until there is a duly authorized permanent constitution which guarantees and safeguards the rights and liberties not only of Chinese citizens but of foreigners as well, and until these codes have been completed.

An elaborate system of judicial administration has been outlined on paper. It provides for district courts, high courts, and a court of cassation or appeal. Examinations are specified for judicial officers—namely, procurators or public prosecutors and judges, and for lawyers, the two examinations being similar. There is a probationary period for judicial officers, a record is kept of their work, and provision is made for discipline in case of inefficiency or misconduct. These officers serve sometimes as prosecutors and sometimes as judges, and the attempt is being made to create for them a permanent and honorable judicial career. Bar associations are to be formed and a disciplinary system for lawyers is outlined. In similar fashion examinations are specified for prison officials. A record is kept of their work and discipline inflicted in case of inefficiency or misconduct.

All of this is admirable, and has probably already produced some excellent judicial officers, members of the bar, and prison officials. But these are entirely inadequate for the numerous courts and prisons required by the most populous country in the world. Moreover, there is reason to believe

that certain traditional ideas and practices are still prevalent even among those who have had a modern training.

The chief god in the Chinese pantheon, other than the remote Shang-ti, the Supreme Being, was and is Tien or Heaven, which is the moral order of the universe that must be preserved. According to the ancient law, so far as it had any theoretical basis, a crime is an act which has deranged this order. The purpose of law and of judicial procedure was to restore this heavenly order, and not to do justice in the sense of righting wrongs committed between human beings. Beside this rather vague and incoherent theological basis ran the practical purpose of restoring and maintaining the mundane order, and this was often attained by effecting a compromise between the parties concerned. The Chinese tendency to settle disputes by means of compromise rather than by principles of right and wrong has been observed by nearly every one who has lived or traveled extensively in China.

So far as its theological basis is concerned, Chinese law is not unlike Occidental law in the Middle Ages and earlier, when the purpose of justice was supposed to be to do the will of God. This theological notion still influences Western jurisprudence at times. On the whole, it has freed itself from theology, and it is now generally recognized in the West that the purpose of justice is to right wrongs committed between individuals and to defend society. Thus Occidental justice has acquired a truly social and moral character as opposed to its former theological status. This social and moral character is reflected in the new Chinese codes, which are to a large extent copied from the Western codes. But there is reason to believe that the old traditions still govern the courts to a high degree. I know of several cases even in the so-called "modern" courts where the judges have attempted to settle cases by means of compromise instead of adjudicating the questions of right and wrong involved. So long as this spirit prevails, justice in the Occidental sense cannot be attained.

The old courts required the direct evidence of witnesses for

proof, having little or no conception of the value of circumstantial evidence. It was believed that confession of guilt was necessary before punishment could take place. The inevitable consequence from these two notions was the use of torture to force testimony from unwilling witnesses and to extort confessions of guilt from the accused. Here again the Chinese courts were and are still like the mediæval European courts which used torture for the same purposes. I know of several instances of its recent use by courts in large cities, and it is probably still widely used in the more remote and secluded parts of China. While it is rarely ever applied unless a court feels certain of the guilt of the accused or that a witness is not telling the truth, it indicates that the Chinese courts and judges do not yet fully and universally recognize that their true function is to gather all of the available evidence and to base a decision thereon.

Courts of justice should possess the highest possible degree of skill in acquiring and weighing evidence. Chinese courts display a singular lack of skill and a most clumsy technique. I have mentioned their distrust of circumstantial evidence in spite of the fact that, if correctly interpreted, it is more reliable than direct evidence, because material and impersonal facts cannot lie, while witnesses can and often do so.

The police and judicial authorities are in the habit of using a method which could not be better calculated to deprive the courts of a vast amount of valuable evidence. It is a common practice to detain witnesses until after a case has been decided. This in itself is a sufficient reason why all Chinese dread and shun the courts. The inevitable result is that those who can give pertinent testimony conceal the fact from the authorities if possible. By such blundering methods not only is a vast amount of evidence lost but also great injustice is done to many innocent witnesses. From many cases I will mention two which have significance in relation to the abolition of extraterritoriality. A foreign resident of Peking described to me the first incident. As a result of a theft in his

house a servant was locked up as a witness. After several weeks the foreigner asked the authorities why they did not release his servant. They replied: "Because he will not admit his guilt." This was the first intimation which the foreigner had received that they were trying to convict his servant, whom he had no reason to suspect. By giving his personal assurance that the servant would appear when needed, he succeeded in securing his release. If he had not been protected by extraterritoriality, the foreigner also might have languished in confinement as a witness.

In fact, this has happened to foreigners who have lost their extraterritorial rights, such as the Russians, as my second case indicates. A Russian merchant caught a thief red-handed in his shop. With the aid of a servant he haled the thief to the police. Then the authorities would not let him and his servant go, but put them in confinement as complainants and witnesses. There they were kept for several weeks not only until the thief had been convicted but also until after he was sentenced. In the meantime the merchant's business had gone to ruin.

To secure the best possible results from the interrogation of witnesses, they should be put at their ease and inspired with confidence in the courts. While visiting several of the criminal and civil courts in Peking, which are among the best, I observed that the opposite was the case. The witnesses were invariably forced to stand not only when testifying but also often for long periods before and after. The manner of the judges was sometimes intimidatory. It is true that Chinese judges have several difficulties to face. Not only do the witnesses often fear the courts but also revenge from the family of the person against whom they are testifying, and from spirits, devils, and other bogies with which their imaginations people the air. These considerations encourage them to conceal the truth. But intimidation from the judges only serves to confuse and to render them even less willing to tell the truth.

There are about seventy-five modern and more than sixteen hundred old prisons in China. The Peking first or "model" prison is decidedly inferior to the best prisons in Europe, America, and Japan. And yet if all Chinese prisons were similar, foreigners would have no adequate reason to object. To the Russians confined in it are given more food and clothing than to the Chinese inmates. In its lecture hall I observed portraits of Confucius, Lao Tze, Mohammed, Jesus, and John Howard the prison reformer, thus illustrating China's admirable spirit of religious toleration.

We come now to the third question—namely, with regard to the independence of the courts. The Peking Government may be kicked out any day by any one of the militarists. Several small and medium-sized civil wars are going on all of the time, and a large civil war may begin at any time. Much of the country is governed by militarists and military factions. Hence the courts as well as the people are at the mercy of the militarists.

I requested the chairman of the Commission on Extraterritoriality, Mr. Chang Yao Tseng, formerly minister of justice, to state the program of the Chinese Government. He replied that it demands the abolition of extraterritoriality at once, but would guarantee that cases involving foreigners would always be tried in "modern" courts. He asserted that such courts exist in all of the large cities and at least one or two in each of the remote provinces. Where there is no modern court, such cases will be transferred. He stated that his commission has inspected courts and prisons in ten provinces and expects to do so in all parts of the country.

The complete and immediate abolition of extraterritoriality is out of the question. It would be bad not only for the foreigners but for China as well, because it would inevitably lead to disputes and foreign pressure. During a period of gradual abolition the foreigners could help the authorities in their work of revision and codification, which would benefit the Chinese themselves more than the foreigners. At the

OUTSIDE OF CHIEN-MEN (SOUTH-GATE), PEKING

same time, the foreigners should be sympathetic toward the desire of the Chinese to abolish extraterritoriality and should be willing to relinquish these rights as rapidly as is justified.

The process of relinquishment should be gradual as to the divisions of the law and as to time and territory. As rapidly as laws and codes suitable for application to foreigners are enacted by a parliament which has been authorized by the people, they should be accepted and administered by the foreign as well as the Chinese courts. As soon as legal, competent, and independent Chinese courts are established, cases involving foreigners should be brought before them for judgment.[3] Thus will a strong incentive be presented to the Chinese to carry out as quickly as possible their excellent intention to create a modern judicial system.

The foreign powers, in response to the earnest desire of the Chinese, and in accordance with a resolution of the Washington conference in December, 1921, whose fulfilment was delayed several years by the lack of preparation of the Chinese Government and by the disturbed conditions in China, sent a commission to Peking in 1925 which made a study of the whole situation. Its report, submitted in 1926, recommended the progressive surrender of extraterritorial rights.[4] This procedure, if followed, will not only lead to the eventual abolition of extraterritoriality. It should also aid greatly toward convincing the Chinese that the foreigners are not solely interested in exploiting China, while a ready and friendly response from the Chinese authorities will indicate to the foreigners that China is not entirely anti-foreign. Thus will gradually disappear an exaggerated and supercilious pride

[3] According to the China Year Book, 1928, there were 133 modern courts, which was only a small proportion of the total number.

[4] This report was signed by the representatives of Belgium, the British Empire, Denmark, France, Holland, Italy, Japan, Norway, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, and the United States. Its general recommendations, with reservations as to certain details, were accepted by the Chinese delegate, Dr. Wang Chung-hui, acting prime minister in 1922 and 1924, and more recently the Chinese representative on the International Tribunal at The Hague.

on the part of the Chinese and a predatory attitude on the part of the foreigners.

Chinese culture, while not necessarily the greatest or the best, has maintained an unbroken existence longer than any other culture. Two thousand years or more ago it reached a state of equilibrium at which its development was arrested, and it has remained more or less unchanged during this long period. Geographical isolation and a vainglorious pride rendered it almost immune to change and therefore to development.

Contact with Western culture has been a great shock which China still strenuously resists and which has caused much confusion. It remains to be seen whether the best features of both cultures can and will be combined to form a type of culture superior to both. During the period of transition a somewhat anarchistic state is inevitable. The outcome will probably be a federated republic, each province retaining its autonomy. Already several of the provinces, such as Chekiang and Hunan, have adopted constitutions after the Occidental model.

Several educated Chinamen have spoken to me, and with good reason, of the time it has required for other countries to become unified and to establish a stable democratic and representative government. Nearly a century passed from the Declaration of Independence in 1776 to the close of the Civil War in 1865 before the United States became a thoroughly unified nation. It took almost as long to establish democratic and representative government in France from the Revolution of 1789 to the inauguration of the Third Republic in 1871, during which time took place the tyrannical dictatorship of Napoleon, the restoration of the Bourbons, the rule of the house of Orleans, and the second Napoleonic episode. China is not likely to do worse or to take longer in attaining the same ends.

The foregoing survey indicates that Occidental legal ideas and codes have been adopted to a considerable extent in the

Orient, partly through the pressure of conquest, extraterritorial rights, and commercial needs, partly voluntarily. The forms of a parliamentary system, such as constitutions, legislative bodies, and parties, have been partially adopted, to this extent substituting Western political democracy for the Eastern autocratic system.

The Western system has evolved under capitalism and includes national sovereignty and militarism. The relative instability of political forms in the present transitional stage in the Orient furnishes a promising field for Occidental radical influences and activities. In the following chapter I shall discuss the important question as to whether the East is going to accept the dominant capitalistic politico-economic system, or will attempt to modify it in accordance with these radical ideas as well as its own indigenous institutions.

Chapter XVII

THE MENACE OF INDUSTRIALIZATION AND RADICAL PROPAGANDA

As I rode along the Sabarmati River, I counted at least fifty tall factory chimneys in the city of Ahmedabad on the other side. They present a strange contrast to the mediæval architecture of the ancient Gujarat capital, and indicate the onslaught of Occidental machine production upon Oriental small-scale handicraft in the spinning and weaving industry.

I was on my way to visit India's latter-day saint, Mahatma Gandhi, who is trying to maintain the spinning-wheel of the ancient handicraft. Soon I came to a group of low wooden buildings painted white and shining in the brilliant tropical sunlight. This is the Satyagraha Ashram or "Holding-the-Truth Home" founded by Mr. Gandhi. On the veranda of the largest building were several *charkas* (spinning-wheels). I was told that I would find the Mahatma in a small house beyond. On the floor of its porch were seated several young men working on his correspondence, while an unused typewriter stood near-by. Presently I was ushered into the presence of the most famous Hindu of modern times.

Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi was born in the Gujarat region of western India in 1869. His father was the diwan or prime minister of a small native state. He was educated in India and England and became a barrister-at-law and member of the Inner Temple, London. He practised law in Bombay and then for many years in South Africa, where he became the leader of the Indian settlers in their fight for their rights against the white colonists. During the European War he returned to India and at first supported the English, going

so far as to recruit soldiers for the British army. But the failure of the British Government to keep some of its promises to India, the massacre of hundreds of natives by General Dyer at Amritsar in 1919, and similar events finally turned him against the English. In 1920 he commenced his non-coöperation movement which dominated the political situation in India for several years.

At the time of my visit he was in the third day of a week's fast, a common practice of his, partly for dietetic but mainly for religious reasons. He was seated on a couch with his back propped against pillows. His height is little if any over five feet. Clad only in a loin-cloth, his emaciated body was plainly to be seen. In his hand he held a glass of water from which he took an occasional sip with a spoon. A boy stood beside him waving a towel over his head.

Greeting me in the most friendly manner, he invited me to sit beside him on the couch. I remarked that his ideas are not clearly understood in the West, to which he assented. Then followed a lengthy conversation in the course of which I questioned him concerning his fundamental political, economic, and religious ideas and principles.

He began by saying that his supreme object in life is to find the truth. His fundamental principle is non-violence, a principle which he derived from Henry Thoreau, the American writer. Non-coöperation with evil is a necessary consequence from this principle. With much emphasis he declared that he would hold to this policy permanently, even though all others may desert him. Civil disobedience may also be a consequence from the principle of non-violence.

Describing his political career, Mr. Gandhi stated that his ideal for India formerly was autonomy within the British Empire on an equal footing with the other self-governing dominions. I asked him whether he considers the British Empire or any empire the ultimate goal of political evolution, or rather a world state which would supersede all nations and empires. He replied that he believes it possible for an

international state to grow out of the British Empire. He added that their treatment of the Boers at the close of the South African War gave him a high opinion of the English. Then he compared them with the Germans, unfavorably to the latter.

Discussing the most equivocal incident of his career—namely, recruiting for the British army during the European War—he stated that he did so, in spite of his doctrine of non-violence, because he believed that those who were loyal to England and did not profess this doctrine were in duty bound to fight. This is a fallacious argument and an unconvincing defense of his conduct. If he really believes in non-violence for mankind, he should preach it without exception and not urge others to fight while he refrains from it on principle. His enthusiasm for the British and their allies apparently blinded his judgment, and, in spite of the saintliness attributed to him by the Hindus, he displays a very human weakness in still trying to justify his conduct.

The upshot of this part of our conversation seemed to indicate that Mr. Gandhi still hopes that the English will see the light as he sees it, so that it will be possible for India to remain in the British Empire. Failing this, he declared that independence will be necessary. As to how this is to be attained he has no definite program. When I questioned him about the Indian political parties of the day, he expressed great distaste for all of them and for the squabbles which characterize them, as indeed they do parties in every country.

Turning to economic matters, I remarked that in conversing with many Nationalist leaders, both Hindu and Moslem, I had observed that almost all of them seemed to be wholly engrossed with the political situation and to ignore its economic aspect. To this observation Mr. Gandhi gave his eager assent, and added that he considers the economic measures more important than the political. I requested him to explain the significance of the *charka* or spinning-wheel in his economic program. He replied that it can occupy the idle time

of the agricultural population and thereby save enough to prevent famine in India. That is to say, by manufacturing by hand all of the cloth needed by India, textile imports will be obviated. India will then have a sufficiently favorable balance of trade to be able to import the food necessary at a time of drought.

I pointed out that this program furnishes no opportunity for the division of labor in the form of large-scale machine and factory production. He replied that most of the inhabitants are agricultural and lead a very simple life. He believes that this is the best type of life and does not want it supplanted by a civilization based upon machinery, which, he thinks, is necessarily materialistic. At the same time he does not insist upon excluding all machine-made products. When I asked him about "*swadeshi*" or the consumption of home products, he picked up a pair of spectacles which were lying on the couch beside him and said: "These spectacles were made in England. They are luxuries which it is not essential for us to manufacture here in India. Consequently, I have not put them on my list of foreign goods which should be boycotted."

Several times in our conversation Gandhi called himself a "spent bullet." He realizes that he has lost much of his influence as a political and economic leader. His uncompromising policy of non-coöperation with the British Government has been abandoned by many of the Nationalist leaders and has been replaced by the more opportunistic policy of coöperation whenever it appears that something can be gained for India thereby. His economic program is too rudimentary for the solution of India's complicated problems. But most of the results of his vast influence when he was the supreme leader can never die. During those years he brought the Nationalist idea to many millions of illiterate Indians who would otherwise never have heard of it. His sincere, kindly, and self-sacrificing character made a deep impression which still gives to him a great moral influence.

His religiosity has won for him the title of "Mahatma" or saint among the Hindus, with the exception of the most orthodox, who are offended by his ideas of reforming the Hindu religion, especially the caste system.

If Mr. Gandhi has a message for the West, it is, I believe, his appeal for simplifying life in certain respects. Occidental life has become too artificial and complicated, especially in the cities. Mankind is cut off from nature to a large extent. Our manner of life has become not only unnatural but harmful to a very high degree, and is rapidly developing a degenerate and degraded breed. A life closer to nature would mean a much more hygienic diet than the unwholesome concoctions which we in the main eat, the discarding of clothing whenever possible in order to bring the body under the sunlight and other beneficent forces of nature from which it is now cut off, and sufficient exercise for all parts of the body. These changes would result in a physical betterment which would in turn cause a mental and moral improvement. Such a simplification, which would at the same time not reject any of the useful articles and labor-saving devices which have been invented, would be the greatest boon to the Occidental world, cursed with its present hectic and nerve-racking mode of life. The predominant tendency is now in the opposite direction, so that every possible assistance is needed to stem the tide.

Whether or not the Orient appreciates nature more than the Occident, I do not know. Life on its material side has not as yet become so complicated in the East as in the West. Mr. Gandhi is an eminent Oriental who recognizes the value of this simplicity with respect to clothing, food, and certain other aspects of life. His message in this regard should, however, be carefully dissociated from his asceticism and religious fanaticism. Unfortunately, a few of his admirers in the Occident have foolishly tried to form a cult about his personality, which can only result in harm. A more judicious use of his influence will, however, redound to the benefit of both Occident and Orient, and will help to bring these two

great divisions of mankind into closer contact and harmony with each other.

In Chapters V and XI I have pointed out how the development of science in Europe and America has resulted in a certain sense of power over nature, as contrasted with the more passive attitude of the Orient toward nature. Machinery and large-scale methods have resulted in an enormous increase in the amount produced and in a great saving of labor. However, as I have indicated in Chapter VII, they have also resulted in great economic and social evils, such as the tremendous inequality in the distribution of wealth, the uncertainty of occupation and income for the proletarian class, the instability of economic conditions for all classes, the concentration of population in huge urban centers, etc. While all of these evils exist in a measure in the Orient, they have been greatly accentuated in the Occident. Whether or not the social and economic evils of the East are worse than those of the West we need not discuss here. Even granting that the Occident has reached a higher plane, the pathway of wisdom for the Orient is to avoid imitating Western evils as well as to copy its advantageous features.

The imminent danger is that the East will be overwhelmed and will have to pass through the same stages as the West. The more independent and radical thinkers and movements of the Occident are seeking a solution of the evils of capitalism in some form of socialism or communism which will retain the benefits of science, machinery, the division of labor, and large-scale production. At the present time Russia is the chief protagonist of this point of view and is trying to jump some of the stages of capitalistic evolution on its way to communism. Whether or not it succeeds still remains to be seen. In any case, it may influence Asiatic peoples in a measure in solving this problem for themselves. So that the Russian experiment is of great significance not only for Europe and America but also for Asia.

During the European War it was customary to attribute

every untoward event to the malevolent activities of the Germans. Now that Germany can no longer serve as a scapegoat, Russia has taken its place. Whether there be trouble in northern Africa or India, in the Balkans or in Korea, it is always alleged that the red hand of the Soviet Government is to be seen.

In China I talked with many statesmen, several of whom displayed a strong desire to deny any suggestion of soviet influence in the Chinese Government. Their anxiety is doubtless a reflection of the persistent rumor of Bolshevist influence which they fear will injure the standing of their Government with the Western powers.

The capitalistic press and governments talk as if propaganda is reprehensible in itself and imply that they are free from its taint. Whether propaganda be good or bad, their second allegation is utterly preposterous. Probably at least nine out of every ten newspapers in the world are carrying on, editorially and otherwise, an anti-socialistic and anti-communistic propaganda. Some of these journals are unofficially but more or less directly the mouthpieces of the foreign offices in their countries.

All governments carry on more or less propaganda. For several years I was in the service of the Department of State of the United States and in close touch with several foreign offices, such as those in Downing Street and Wilhelmstrasse. In addition to actively promoting and aiding capitalistic enterprises, which may be legitimate so long as the peoples of these countries accept capitalism, all these foreign offices often utter denunciations of other economic systems in statements issued to the public or, as I have repeatedly observed, in instructions to their representatives which are not published. Such denunciations are wholly contrary to the spirit of free institutions. In every country which professes to be democratic the people have the right to choose whichever system they prefer and to change it if they see fit. Hence it is wholly improper for a foreign office to assume an irrecon-

cilable and intransigent attitude toward any system whatsoever.

In order to secure a pronouncement from an official Russian source concerning these alleged Bolshevist activities, I talked at length with L. M. Karakhan, who was then the Russian ambassador in Peking and the principal soviet representative in the Far East. Our conversation took place in his office, a vast room of the former imperial legation. Against the gorgeous trappings of the barbaric czarist régime the simple dress and direct manners of the soviet diplomat presented a refreshing contrast.

By way of introducing the subject of propaganda, I adverted to the charge often made that there is no freedom of speech or of the press in Russia to-day. Mr. Karakhan admitted this charge, and added that the Soviet Government is not hypocritical, whereas bourgeois governments limit the freedom of the press and then deny that they do so. He gave a brief description of the present political system in Russia which is of interest as furnishing a background to soviet activities elsewhere.

According to Mr. Karakhan, the dictatorship of the proletariat is maintained by half a million Communists in the interest of the toiling masses. The peasants and workers favor the soviet system and therefore support them. Private property, with the exception of land ownership, is permitted and protected by law, so that the property of foreigners is safe. Private trade is permitted to a certain extent, but foreign trade can be carried on only with licenses issued by the Bureau of Imports and Exports. Capitalists are given certain economic but no political rights. Foreign capital is admitted under the terms of concessions granted by the Government, but is not likely to overthrow the soviet system, because the discipline and morale in the Communist party are very strong, thus preventing corruption. Freedom of the press and of speech is prohibited in order to prevent capitalistic propaganda.

As to Bolshevist propaganda in general, Mr. Karakhan dis-

tinguished between the Third International and the Soviet Government. The former is a private organization for which the latter is in no way responsible. It represents the Socialists and Communists of the world and carries on propaganda in their behalf. If it would be tolerated in any other capital, it would be a relief to the Soviet Government if its headquarters could be removed from Moscow, for the Soviet Government is constantly accused of responsibility for the actions of the Third International.

The upshot of this part of our conversation seemed to be that there is no official Russian propaganda, but propaganda by the Third International. So far as the capitalistic governments are concerned, they have put themselves out of court by their own propaganda and by suppressing opposing propaganda. But in no country is such suppression carried out with such rigor as in Russia. It would be more consistent if the soviet representatives could and would give clear-cut and categorical denials that they are carrying on propaganda in other countries.

While the soviet and czarist systems differ radically, the Soviet Government is often accused of being as imperialistic as its predecessor outside of Russia. In Mongolia and Manchuria these accusations usually center around railroads and railway projects. A railroad is planned from Kalgan across Inner Mongolia to Urga and then to Kiachta on the border between Siberia and Mongolia. Here it will connect with a branch line from Verkhne Udinsk, which is on the Trans-Siberian Railroad. It has been rumored that this railroad will be financed with Russian money. It is alleged that Urga, the capital of Mongolia, is under Russian influence. In Manchuria Russian influence is exercised principally through the Chinese Eastern Railway, which was built by the czarist Government and is now administered mainly by Russians. Between this railway and the Japanese-owned South Manchuria Railway exists a bitter rivalry which may precipitate these countries into a second Russo-Japanese war.

THRESHING GRAIN BY HAND

THRESHING WITH BULLOCKS

Mysore State, India

In denying these charges of imperialism, Mr. Karakhan asserted that the Mongolian Government had offered to join the Soviet Union. The Russian Government refused to admit Mongolia, because it did not wish to offend China. Article V of the Sino-Russian agreement of May 31, 1924, states that the Soviet Government "recognizes that Outer Mongolia is an integral part of the Republic of China and respects China's sovereignty therein." Urga is under Russian cultural influences, but is entirely free from political influence. The Chinese Eastern Railway cost Russia more than 500,000,000 gold rubles and must be made to pay for itself and furnish a revenue to the Soviet Government. It may be redeemed eventually by China under the terms of the treaty. This question may be settled even more advantageously for China, but it would be no use to do so now when it is almost certain that militarists would seize the railroad and turn it against the Chinese people. It might fall into the hands of imperialists who would use it against both China and Russia.

With respect to the foreign policy in general of the Soviet Government Mr. Karakhan asserted very emphatically that Russia seeks no expansion of territory, but only the spread and strengthening of its influence in other countries, especially in Asia. Generally speaking, soviet principles are more suitable for Europe and America than for Asia, because they are more advanced economically. So that while Russia will welcome Asiatic countries which choose to adopt Bolshevist principles, its hopes center around European and American countries, which by their development are nearer to what Mr. Karakhan called "those superior forms of economic organization that are established in the Soviet Republic."

I asked Mr. Karakhan if he thinks it feasible to establish an international state which would include both capitalistic and socialistic countries, and which would remove many of the causes of international friction. He replied that the Soviet Government would be glad to join such an international organization if the capitalistic countries would be willing to

admit it. He expressed the opinion that such a state would be useful for many cultural purposes. But he seemed to be uncertain, in view of the radical differences between capitalism on the one hand and socialism and communism on the other hand, whether or not such a state could regulate every aspect of international relations. He especially emphasized the readiness of the Soviet Republic to coöperate in questions of disarmament, where, as he thinks, his Government would be willing to accept the most radical and far-reaching decisions. Since our conversation the policy of the Soviet Government at the conferences of the League of Nations has confirmed this statement.

I have already described and criticized the Bolshevist propaganda in China in Chapter XIV and elsewhere. In Japan it is ruthlessly crushed by the reactionary Imperial Government. When I went from China to India I expected to hear reverberations of the Chinese Nationalist movement and sounds of Bolshevist propaganda. Rather to my surprise, Chinese affairs seemed to be little known, and I saw no traces of Bolshevist agitation. In Nationalist circles I met only one man who seemed to be under Russian influence, and he had been in Russia. The Indian Nationalist movement has so far been almost exclusively political in its character. Many of its leaders are lawyers and have little knowledge and appreciation of economic problems.

There is as yet no strong labor or Socialist movement in the Orient, not even in Japan, which has gone farther than any other country on the road to industrialization. According to the Japan Year Book, 1927, in 1925 there were 234,000 enrolled in 490 unions of all trades when there were approximately two million factory workers. In other words, a very small percentage of the workers was organized. A rigorous law against those who encourage strikes is a serious obstacle. The All-India Trade Union Congress represents about 100,000 workers.[1] No reliable statistics are available of the extent

[1] The Directory of Trade Unions, edited by R. R. Bakhale, Bombay, 1925, p. v.

of the Chinese labor movement. As probably 75 per cent. of the population are agricultural, and only a small part of the working population is as yet under the factory system, it cannot be very extensive in proportion to the total population.[2] There is no large Socialist party in any Oriental country.

With the progress of industrialization under capitalism, the Oriental labor and Socialist movements will grow with their usual accompaniments of strikes, boycotts, and other labor and political disturbances. But if the Orient will follow a somewhat different course of economic and political evolution, it may succeed not only in avoiding some of the ills of the Occident but also in furnishing a valuable object-lesson to mankind.

[2] According to the China Year Book, 1928, the third national trade union conference at Canton in May, 1926, represented 1,240,000 organized workers.

Chapter XVIII

THE MIGRATION OF POPULATION AND JAPAN

THE chief bugaboo of the Occident in its relation to the Orient is its fear of Oriental immigrants. It is alleged that the "yellow peril" is the vast horde of dark-colored people eager to migrate to Western countries, where they will lower the wages of the native workers, contaminate the purity of the superior blood of the white race, introduce their heathen religions in opposition to the only true religion—namely, Christianity—practise their immoral ideas, bring along their alien manners and customs, and procreate their numerous progeny. So runs the argument, especially in English-speaking countries, where it is widely believed that Western culture is seriously threatened by a wave of migrants from the East whose culture is held to be much inferior. All of these fears strengthen the prejudice against the darker races.

Europe is twice as densely populated as Asia. This comparison is not as significant as it appears to be, because vast regions in Asia covered by deserts and mountain ranges are almost uninhabitable. Even after allowance is made for these uninhabitable areas, Europe is much more densely populated than Asia. On the other hand, the density of population of North America and of Africa is less than one third, that of South America less than one seventh, and that of Australia less than 4 per cent. that of Asia. If, therefore, there is danger of an overwhelming wave of Asiatic immigration, the Western Hemisphere, Australia, and Africa rather than Europe are threatened. Hence the exclusion laws against Oriental immigrants which have been enacted by the United States,

Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and the British colonies in Africa.

It is generally believed that China is very densely populated because it has the largest population of any one country. No reliable census has ever been taken. In 1910 the Mincheng Pu or Ministry of the Interior estimated the population of the Chinese Empire exclusive of Tibet at 329,542,000, and of Tibet at 1,500,000. In 1923 the Post-Office Department estimated the population of the Chinese Republic at 436,094,953, and the maritime customs estimated it at 444,968,000, but both of these estimates in all probability are considerably exaggerated. The population of China proper is probably not over 325,000,000, and its density not over two hundred per square mile, as compared with a density of a little over one hundred for Europe. In that case its density is less than one third that of Belgium and of England, less than one half that of Holland, and less than two thirds that of Germany and of Italy.

According to the census of India the density of population of India and Burma in 1921 was 177 per square mile. The population increased 7.1 per cent. from 1901 to 1911, but only 1.2 per cent. from 1911 to 1921, owing to famines and epidemics. These figures for the two most populous countries of Asia and of the world indicate that the density of population of China and India is not excessive as compared with European countries, but is much greater than that of the countries of the Western Hemisphere, the density of the United States probably being less than one fifth that of China and less than one fourth that of India.

In Japan the situation is very different and is of great significance because Japan is more industrialized than any other Asiatic country, and indicates what is likely to happen in other countries. Prior to 1920 the Japanese population was counted by means of the police registration. According to the first census, the population in 1920 was approximately 56,000,000. On October 1, 1925, the population was 59,736,-

822. According to the government statistical bureau the excess of births was 743,574 in 1924, and 875,385 in 1925. The bureau estimates that at this rate Japan proper will have a population of 100,000,000 by 1962.

Japan is already more densely populated than any European country with the exception of Belgium and of England and Wales and perhaps of Holland. On the basis of inhabitable area, it is still more densely populated, because in Japan only 19 per cent. is habitable, whereas in Belgium the percentage is 74, in England and Wales 73, and in Holland 67. Inasmuch as Japan is predominantly an agricultural country, this fact is of greater significance than it is in industrial countries such as Belgium and England. The tillage area is what counts, and this is greatly reduced by the mountainous character of the country.

Emigration is the first remedy usually suggested. In 1925 there were 617,929 Japanese residing abroad. During that year the number of emigrants was about 10,000. Hence emigration is doing little at present to relieve the situation. The Government now has a commission which is studying this question. Its chairman is Baron Shidehara, who was minister of foreign affairs at the time of my visit. When discussing this subject with me he referred sadly to the fact that the Japanese are excluded from all English-speaking countries bordering on the Pacific. The Latin-American countries are open to them. Most of these countries are climatically well fitted for the Japanese. But they are far away and will probably not be used to any great extent for some time to come.

To the west lie Manchuria and Siberia, vast areas which are as yet little populated. They belong to the colder latitudes, while the Japanese culture is mainly adapted to a more genial climate. So that the Japanese will have to learn to adjust themselves to a colder climate if they are to make use of these regions. Political obstacles now stand in the way. Even though a treaty was recently signed between Japan and Russia, their relations are still very uncertain. The Japanese Gov-

ernment does not feel inclined to encourage emigration to northeastern Asia until it is able to assure protection of private property rights to its nationals.

For the present the Government is concentrating attention upon a better distribution of population within Japan itself. The northern island, Hokkaido, is only one sixth as densely populated as the whole of Japan proper. The northern provinces of the principal island, Honshu, also are less densely populated than the average. Most of Hokkaido lies between 42 and 46 degrees of north latitude and is subject to severe winters, so that adjustment to climatic conditions is necessary.

At the Home Ministry I was informed that it is estimated that 6,000,000 can be added to Hokkaido's present population of about 2,500,000. Inasmuch as this is less than the increase during ten years, it can remedy matters only a little. This ministry has published a plan for moving 600,000 a year to Hokkaido, and 1,100,000 to the Miyagi and Iwate prefectures, two of the sparsely populated regions in northern Honshu. If the necessary funds are appropriated, this scheme will be carried on for twenty years in which time the population should become evenly distributed.

This will probably be the first measure used by the Government in dealing with this problem. It is only a temporary palliative and cannot solve the fundamental problem of the rapid increase of population. The next method which suggests itself is agricultural and industrial development. Every one who has traveled in the densely populated regions of Japan knows the painful care with which each bit of fertile soil on hill and mountain-side as well as in the valleys and on the plains is utilized. The ground is terraced and water is brought to it by means of irrigation or otherwise. So that it does not seem likely that in the thickly inhabited regions much more can be done in the way of agricultural expansion. It is true that the methods used are still very primitive, as I have observed while watching the harvesting of the cereal crops. The shocks of grain, cut and gathered by hand, are

beaten upon a wooden bench in order to loosen the heads and kernels, which fall upon mats spread on the ground. These mats are beaten with large wooden flails. The grain is then put into a sieve which is pushed back and forth in grooves. The final stage is reached when the grain is poured on the mats from a height of six to eight feet while a large fan vigorously wielded blows away the small chaff and dust. All of this work is done by hand.

Geographical conditions preclude the extensive use of machinery in Japanese agriculture. There are none of the vast prairies of America or the broad plains of Europe and continental Asia. Intensive methods of agriculture can be somewhat improved. Recent industrial development has caused a movement from country to city which should, if possible, be checked. But agriculture cannot keep the pace with a rapidly growing population.

Industry seems to promise more than agriculture. According to statistics furnished to me by the Home Ministry, in June, 1924, there were nearly two million factory operatives, of whom approximately half were female, as compared with over three millions in agricultural pursuits, and nearly a million and a half in fisheries. The textile industry employs more than half of the factory workers. Very little of the raw textiles can be raised in Japan, and most of the raw material has to be imported from afar. So that the development of this industry is narrowly limited.

It is estimated that Japan proper has 8,789,000,000 tons of coal, of which 1,737,000,000 tons are readily workable. But most of this coal is bituminous and lignite, little of it being anthracite. There is very little iron in Japan proper, the supply being estimated at 5,000,000 tons. In Korea and Formosa there are about 50,000,000 tons. In 1921 only 87,000 tons were produced in Japan proper, while 765,000 tons were imported of which 70 per cent. came from China. It is estimated that China, so far as it has been explored, has at least 7,000,000,000 tons and probably very much more. Under

THRESHING GRAIN BY HAND NEAR KYOTO, JAPAN

WOMEN IN PADDY RICE FIELD, FUTAMINOURA, JAPAN

these circumstances there can be little hope for the development of a large iron and steel industry in Japan. The same can be said to a greater or less extent of almost every other manufacturing industry.

With comparatively limited natural resources and the competition of cheaper labor in China and elsewhere in Asia, Japan cannot expect a great industrial development. This is not entirely a misfortune, for the industrial system has brought its evils as well as its benefits to Japan. During the European War it experienced a great business and industrial boom and prices rose very high. Since 1920 it has shared with Occidental nations the post-war depression with all of its attendant evils. Prices are still high. There is much unemployment. Wages are low in comparison with the cost of living, which is higher than it is in some European countries. While the population is much more rural than in most Western countries, there is a distinct movement toward the cities. In 1913 it was estimated that 10.77 per cent. of the population was in cities of over ten thousand inhabitants, while in 1920 this percentage had risen to 12.07.

All of these are characteristic features of our modern industrial system. They indicate that this system is not in every respect to be desired. Already some of the intelligent Japanese are asking whether, even if it were possible, it would be desirable to attain a high degree of industrial development. Would it not be preferable to try to produce food enough to sustain the country and then manufacture only as much as is needed to pay for necessary imports? This would obviate an expensive and dangerous commercial as well as military and naval competition with highly industrialized countries. In all probability Japan will have to come to this policy eventually. It would therefore be wiser to adopt it at once and thus save the waste involved in an attempt to compete with the strong industrial nations which is doomed to fail.

If this policy is followed, the population will have to be stabilized at a figure not much above the present number.

In order to accomplish such stabilization, either an outlet will have to be found for the excess population, the difficulties in the way of which are indicated above, or else the increase of population must cease. Both the birth- and death-rates are at present much above the usual European and American rates. The death-rate is certain to fall owing to improved sanitation. Hence the birth-rate will have to fall still more in order to check the increase of population.

Like all Occidental nations, Japan faces the necessity of exercising birth-control. This idea is not in accord with the family ideal which still prevails and which demands as many children as possible to honor and work for their parents. Until recently the advocacy of birth-control was rigorously repressed by the police. However, in this regard Japan lags only a few years behind the United States. In July, 1916, I was invited to Boston to speak at a mass-meeting in behalf of a man who had been sentenced to three years in prison because he had published an article advocating birth-control. When such barbarities could happen so recently in a so-called civilized Western nation, it would be unbecoming to throw stones at Japan. I am glad to be able to add that in March, 1925, was held an international birth-control conference in New York which was attended by delegates from many parts of the world and with which, so far as I know, the police did not interfere. But there are still legal restrictions upon the dissemination of information with regard to contraceptive measures in the United States.

An official in the Gai Musho or Foreign Office at Tokio intimated to me that many of the Japanese regard birth-control as a form of European degeneracy. There are many people in Europe and America who still cling to this notion. But there are already signs of change. I have noticed a number of references to the subject in the Japanese press, some of them apparently tentatively favorable. The professor of practical sociology in a Japanese university told me that he was writing a book advocating birth-control. The head of the

Ohara Institute of Social Research in Osaka called my attention to the fact that during the Tokugawa shogunate, which lasted for two and a half centuries prior to the restoration to power of the mikado in 1868, and which was a period of more or less peace and prosperity, the population remained approximately stable. It has been estimated that it was about 30,000,000. This stability was apparently attained in part by means of infanticide. I do not know how they were able to harmonize this practice with the family ideal mentioned above. In any case, Japan cannot return to this barbarous custom, but should substitute for it the less wasteful and more humane methods of birth-control.

Forces are now at work more powerful even than advocacy of it by scientists and writers. More women are going to work outside of the home. In Osaka I visited two large spinning mills. In one of them, out of three thousand employees only five hundred were men, and in the other a similar proportion between the sexes obtained. By leaving their homes and acquiring some economic independence the women, however unwittingly, are breaking down the family system and changing the character of the home. No longer will they regard themselves nor can they be regarded solely as child-bearers and housekeepers. Under such conditions the birth-rate is certain to fall.

Java has the highest density of population of any country in the world. It is estimated that it had about 5,000,000 inhabitants at the beginning of the nineteenth century, and it now has about 37,000,000, or a density of about 750 per square mile. This enormous increase is due mainly to the sanitation and intensive methods of cultivation which have been introduced by the Dutch. Apart from Japan and Java, Oriental countries are not more densely populated than European countries in general, while their rate of increase at present is probably smaller than that of American countries in general.

There are, nevertheless, disquieting features which create

a serious Oriental problem of population. The family system which is prevalent encourages the procreation of as many children as possible. Early marriage, which is characteristic of this system, brings the generations closer together than in the Occident. Contraceptive methods are almost unknown, and the family ideal and various religious beliefs and moral ideas arouse strong prejudices against birth-control. Western medical science and sanitary methods are rapidly being introduced, thus decreasing the death-rate. Western machine and large-scale factory methods also are being introduced, thus increasing productivity greatly and encouraging the birth-rate to rise as it did in the Occident during the past century and a half until checked by the spread of birth-control.

Industrialization will doubtless result in the urbanization of the Orient. At present there are comparatively few large cities. The largest Asiatic cities are Osaka, which numbered 2,114,809, and Tokio, with 1,995,567 in October, 1925. Calcutta has about 1,300,000 and Bombay a little over one million. The population of Chinese cities can only be surmised. The Wu-han group—namely, Hankow, Hanyang, and Wuchang—probably has about a million and a half inhabitants, Shanghai a million, Canton nearly a million, and Tientsin and Peking about 800,000 each. The contrast is strikingly illustrated by the fact that the United States alone has at least six cities or urban districts containing over a million inhabitants each, though it has a total population not much more than one third as great as that of China proper or of India.

Large cities have played an important part in the economic and cultural evolution of the Occident. They have also given rise to great evils by making life excessively complicated and artificial, and by cutting off a large part of mankind from an intimate contact and relation with nature. Industrialization and its consequent urbanization may bring the same benefits, but will certainly bring the same evils in their train to the Orient. It is very doubtful whether the benefits will outweigh the evils.

So long as the Oriental standard of living is far below that of the Occident, Western labor is justified in wishing protection against cheap competition. A world-wide industrialization under the capitalistic régime will gradually equalize the standard of living. It will be a long and slow process. While it is going on, Western exclusion of Eastern labor will be a constant source of friction and irritation and will seriously disturb harmonious and mutually helpful cultural relations. International socialism would obviate this difficulty because the remuneration of labor the world over would then be based upon productivity instead of according to the more or less artificial national standards which now prevail, and goods would move freely to wherever they are needed unchecked by tariffs and other national barriers.

At present the special monopolistic interests of the owners of capital and of land reduce in varying degrees in different parts of the world the remuneration of labor as measured by productivity, and also interfere materially with the free movement of goods. So that under the capitalistic system the fundamental economic laws of supply and demand, of production and consumption, and of the competition of laborers according to their respective abilities and of goods according to their respective utilities, cannot work out freely on a world-wide scale. But capitalism is so strongly intrenched that there is no immediate prospect of socialism and of a world-wide economic and political organization which could solve these basic problems of the production and distribution of wealth and of the growth and migration of population.

While there remain large areas with rich natural resources which are comparatively untouched, a premium is placed upon the continuance of the capitalistic system. When efficiently exploited, these resources yield large returns to the application of capital and also usually high wages to labor. The United States has been the favored land in this regard during the past century. China's huge resources have scarcely been touched. It remains to be seen whether the soviet régime will

save Russia from capitalistic exploitation. Africa and South America also possess rich natural resources.

So long as widely differential returns from the application of capital and labor persist, it is doubtful if capitalism will be eliminated. Until an equilibrium between natural advantages and density of population the world over, resulting in a comparatively uniform standard of living, has been attained, it is not likely that a world-wide socialistic system will come into being. The demotic fate of the Orient is therefore bound up with the future political and economic organization of mankind.

Chapter XIX

GEOGRAPHICAL POINTS OF CONTACT AND MANCHURIA

As I have indicated in the first two chapters, the Orient and the Occident are separated from each other by the greatest natural barrier in the world—namely, the Hindu Kush, the Pamirs, the Kwenlun, the Karakoram, and the Himalaya ranges, with the Tienshan and Altai ranges extending to the northeastward. It is reinforced by the deserts of eastern and southern Persia, Baluchistan, Turkestan, and Mongolia. Between this lofty barrier and the West lies an indeterminate zone comprising the Arabian peninsula, Mesopotamia, Persia, Asia Minor, Egypt, and the north African littoral, which belong to the Mediterranean area but have been considerably influenced by Oriental culture. Until recently they have not followed the lead of European cultural evolution, but are doing so now to a constantly increasing degree.

The West and the East actually meet geographically very little. The chief point of physical contact is in northeastern Asia. For several centuries the Russians have been pushing their way across northern Asia until they reached the Pacific Ocean. Including the Asiatic states over which the Russian Government exercises a protectorate, Russia now holds political sway over more than one third of Asia. Siberia alone is considerably more than one fourth of Asia and much larger than the whole of Europe. It now contains not much more than ten million inhabitants. While the northern section is within the polar circle, a large part of Siberia is capable of agricultural and industrial development, so that it will eventually support a large population. If Mongolia and Sinkiang

or Chinese Turkestan, whose population is less than five million but whose combined area is greater than that of China proper, can be irrigated, they also may become thickly inhabited. Assuming that the Siberian population will be predominantly white and that of Mongolia and Sinkiang yellow, there will then be compact masses of Easterners and Westerners adjoining each other whose cultural contact will doubtless have far-reaching results. In any case, the construction of railroads and establishment of aviation routes across Asia will bring the East and the West much closer together.

At present this contact takes place chiefly in Manchuria, where complicated and conflicting economic, political, and cultural forces are at work. I crossed the Yalu River from Shingishu in Korea to Antung in Manchuria. In a comfortable Japanese train, equipped in American style, of the South Manchuria Railway I rode to Mukden over the fertile Manchurian plain where the Russians and Japanese fought in 1904 and 1905. Along the track were often to be seen little Japanese soldiers guarding their railway. In the fields the tall industrious peasants in their blue cotton garments were at work. Mukden, the ancient capital of the Manchus, is a meeting-place for Manchus, Chinese, and Mongols and contains a Japanese settlement and numerous Koreans.

When the Manchus conquered China in 1644, there was free intercourse between Manchuria and China for more than a century. The Manchus were a warlike people and feared the corrupting effect of Chinese civilization upon their barbarous militarism. Consequently, in 1766 the Manchu Emperor Chien Lung forbade Chinese migration into Manchuria. While this prohibition was not always consistently enforced, it long delayed the settlement and Sinification of Manchuria, and rendered it easier for the Russians to penetrate northeastern Asia both culturally and politically.[1]

The S.M.R. took me to Changchun, where I changed to the Chinese Eastern Railway. It was almost like passing into

[1] See Shuh Hsü, "China and Her Political Entity," New York, 1926.

Russia. The coaches were divided into compartments, the food was cooked in Russian style, and the attendants were large, stolid Slavs. Before reaching Harbin the following morning a Russian police officer examined the passports of the passengers, looking for white or czarist Russians, who are permitted to leave Harbin only for limited periods.

Harbin was founded in 1896 when the Trans-Siberian Railway came through northern Manchuria. In 1898 was begun the construction of the Chinese Eastern Railway southward. It is now a city of perhaps 200,000 inhabitants, built partly in European style. The majority of the inhabitants are, however, Chinese and dwell in the native quarter in their own style. A droshky took me to a hotel on the principal street lined with fashionable shops. The business quarter is as ugly as the commercial region of most Western cities. There are numerous cabarets, wine restaurants, and the like, where a gay nocturnal life prevails. On the broad Sungari River, a tributary of the Amur, is a beach where the European inhabitants bathe in Western costumes, while the Chinese look curiously down from the bank above upon the mingling of the sexes, so unlike their customs. Here on the frontier Orient and Occident meet face to face, but not the best cultural forces of each, for Harbin is principally a center for trade, railway administration, and political intrigue.

Manchuria covers nearly 400,000 square miles extending in the temperate zone from 38° N. to 53° N. To it may be added another 60,000 square miles for the eastern corner of Mongolia. Much of it is arable land. And yet Manchuria has only between twenty and thirty million inhabitants and eastern Mongolia less than five million, though their area is nearly three times as great as that of Japan and almost five times as large as Great Britain.

To the south lies China proper, with more than 300,000,000. To the east is restless Japan with its surplus millions without an adequate outlet. North Manchuria thrusts its great bulk into Siberia, cutting across the Trans-Siberian

route to Vladivostok. It is no wonder that Manchuria is one of the most coveted territories in the world to-day. The struggle for its possession is one of the major factors in the complicated situation which constitutes the Far Eastern problem.

Less than a generation ago Manchuria was almost unknown. It came into the limelight through the Sino-Japanese War of 1894-95, and especially the Russo-Japanese War of 1904-05, whose battles were fought mainly on the plains of South Manchuria. Since that time has been going on a bitter struggle for its control and exploitation between Russia and Japan, with China, its legitimate owner, as a more or less passive onlooker. Until now this struggle has consisted mainly of leases of territory and concessions for the building of railroads wrung from an almost helpless China. At present the struggle is concentrated in the rivalry between the Chinese Eastern Railway, which is controlled mainly by the Russians, and the South Manchuria Railway, which is owned by the Japanese.

The treaty of Shimonoseki, which terminated the Sino-Japanese War in 1895, ceded the Liaotung peninsula in South Manchuria to Japan. This was returned in a few months, owing to pressure from Russia, Germany, and France. At the same time the Russians obtained the right to build a railroad across North Manchuria, thus giving the Trans-Siberian Railway a direct route to Vladivostok, and a line from Harbin to Port Arthur and Dalny, thus giving them a southern outlet to the sea. These railways were built by the Russo-Asiatic (formerly Russo-Chinese) Bank, which was backed and financed by the Russian Government. In 1898 the lower tip of the Liaotung peninsula was leased to Russia for twenty-five years.

These enterprises in Manchuria and Russian aggression in Korea led to the Russo-Japanese War. The treaty of Portsmouth, which terminated this war in 1905, gave the leased territory and the southern portion of the railway, from

Changchun to Dalny, to Japan. Then China gave the Japanese the right to build a line from Mukden to Antung on the Korean border, and since that time other branch lines have been constructed. The Japanese lines in Manchuria are operated by the South Manchuria Railway, which belongs in part to the Japanese Government. By the Sino-Japanese treaty of 1915 the lease of the territory was extended until 1997 and of the railway to 2002. The territory, now known as the Kwangtung Leased Territory, has about 1300 square miles and a population of less than a million. Port Arthur and Dalny are now called Ryojun and Dairen, and the latter has become a city of 200,000 or more inhabitants.

After the Bolshevist revolution the Russian line, known as the Chinese Eastern Railway, was taken over by the Soviet Government. According to a recent treaty between Russia and China, this railway is jointly owned and administered by the Chinese and Soviet Governments. The president is Chinese and the managing director Russian, while the employees are partly Russian, partly Chinese. Recently the Soviet Government has been insisting that no white (in the political sense) Russians shall be employed. When I visited the main offices of the C.E.R. in Harbin, the personnel of the staff seemed to be entirely Russian.

The S.M.R. administers the Japanese settlements in Mukden, Antung, and several other cities and towns. It controls a narrow strip of twelve poles (about one hundred yards) on each side of its track. White stones at frequent intervals mark the boundary of this strip. There are little round forts at many of the bridges and other strategic points, and Japanese soldiers patrol the track.

In similar fashion the C.E.R. was given a large area at Harbin and similar areas in other places, and controls a narrow strip along its track. The Russian section of Harbin is now governed by a municipal council elected by the taxpayers of all nationalities. As the Soviet Government has relinquished extraterritorial rights in China, Russians are sub-

ject to Chinese courts and law. The Chinese Government requires a passport visa before allowing Russians to leave Harbin, for which it charges a heavy fee, and limits the period during which they can stay away. At the Waichiao Pu or Foreign Office in Peking I was told that this has been done in response to a request from the Soviet Government, which wishes to restrict the many (politically) white Russians who reside in Harbin.

The chief rivalry of the S.M.R. and the C.E.R. has been over the through freight traffic. At one time an agreement existed as to the division of this traffic with a uniform rate to Kobe as a common destination. So far as I could ascertain from my interviews with officials of both railroads, the C.E.R. would like to negotiate such an agreement again, but the S.M.R. is unwilling. Vladivostok is ice-bound during the winter, though the C.E.R. now has large ice-breakers which enable boats to go in and out of this port the year around. But there are no regular ocean steamship lines calling at Vladivostok. Dairen is ice-free and is served by several lines. So that the S.M.R. does not feel the need of a traffic agreement.

These two railway systems have established distinct spheres of influence, the Russian in the north and the Japanese in the south of Manchuria, as may be readily observed by any traveler. And yet the officials of both systems insisted to me that they favor the "open-door" policy which was originated by Secretary of State John Hay of the United States in 1899, for Manchuria as well as for the rest of China. The managing director of the S.M.R. was particularly explicit, and asserted that Japan and the United States should be friendly and coöperate in maintaining the open door in Manchuria. Nevertheless, each side is striving to extend its influence.

At the offices of the C.E.R. in Harbin I was shown a large book on the economic resources of North Manchuria, published in 1924 by the railway. The introduction asserts that the Soviet Government is administering the C.E.R. solely for the purpose of deriving revenue, and wishes to attract

DROSHKIES, HARBIN, MANCHURIA

foreign capital to this region in order to develop it and thus increase its traffic. When I mentioned the contradiction between this policy and the anti-capitalistic principles of this Government, I was told that this is not Russian territory and that the country must in any case be developed. Moreover, the Soviet Government is already giving concessions to foreign capitalists in Russia. These are, to say the least, efforts to increase Russian if not soviet influence in Manchuria.

A railroad has been surveyed and partly constructed from Ssupingkai on the S.M.R. to Tsitsihar which is just north of the main line of the C.E.R. west of Harbin. When completed it will reduce the distance from Europe to Dairen by about one hundred miles. It is a Chinese Government railway line. The Russians assert that it is being built with Japanese capital to compete with the southern branch of the C.E.R., that it is not economically justifiable because it is parallel with this branch, and that it is intended more for political and strategic than for economic purposes. On the other hand, the managing director of the S.M.R. told me that it is being built by the S.M.R. as a contractor which hopes to be paid for it by the Manchurian Government. This Government wishes it constructed in order to open up the rich section of eastern Mongolia through which it passes and to encourage Chinese settlers to go there. Hence he asserted that it is economically justifiable, and in so far as it has political significance it may have strategic value for either side in case of war.

Similar stories are told by both sides with respect to a line which the Japanese have surveyed from the northeastern coast of Korea to Changchun. A Chinese Government railway line has already been constructed as far as Kirin, and a Chosen Government railway line from the Korean port Seichin to Kainei, which is near the Manchurian border. It is expected that these lines will eventually be joined, thus giving the Japanese access to Manchuria at a new point.

Each side displays a good deal of feeling against the other. The Russians assert that the Japanese are trying to secure

a monopoly of the trade of Manchuria, and to construct a strong economic, political, and strategic barrier back of Japan. The Japanese accuse the Bolsheviki of being as imperialistic as the czarist Russians. They resent soviet encroachment in Manchuria, and, for that matter, in northeastern Asia, and ask why the Russians do not stay at home, where they have plenty of room.

At present the Japanese doubtless have the greater prestige in Manchuria. A symbol of it is the fact that their currency circulates everywhere and is the preferred currency. They are doing much more than the Russians to develop the resources of the country. The great coal-field at Fushun and several other coal-fields are being mined. Several iron mines have been opened and iron and steel works established. The S.M.R. has been encouraging the cultivation of the soya bean and of kaoliang, a tall variety of millet, as well as other agricultural products. In its laboratories it has been experimenting in order to increase the already long list of the industrial uses of the soya bean.

There is difference of opinion as to whether Japan can colonize Manchuria. The majority of the Japanese with whom I have discussed the matter are of the opinion that this is not feasible, partly on account of the difference in climate, but principally because the Japanese cannot compete with the cheaper Chinese labor. On the other hand, the managing director of the S.M.R., Mr. Y. Matsuoka, expressed to me the opposite opinion. He thinks that if the Japanese work as hard in Manchuria as they have in California, they can succeed in spite of Chinese competition. He believes, however, that inasmuch as the Japanese and Chinese are of the same racial stock, the Japanese colonists will eventually be assimilated by the Chinese, so that Manchuria will not become wholly Japanized.

There is still less likelihood that Russia will colonize Manchuria. With the construction of new railroads, more Chinese settlers will come in from the densely populated regions of

China and thus furnish most of the increase of population. Already several hundred thousand are arriving each year, many of them coming from the thickly inhabited province of Shantung. It is estimated that Manchuria can readily support a population of 75,000,000. For the present the Russo-Japanese struggle will consist mainly of economic exploitation, with political and military aggression lurking in the background as an ever-present possibility.

Manchuria is now in the firm grip of Marshal Chang Tso-lin, the Mukden "war lord." After defeat in civil war in 1922 he declared his independence of the Central Government. In 1924 he renewed his allegiance to Peking. And yet, because he was not satisfied with the Sino-Russian treaty of May 31, 1924, he negotiated the separate so-called "Mukden" agreement with the Soviet Government in September, 1924.

If Manchuria were to become entirely independent, it would eventually be crushed between Russia and Japan. They would then divide the spoils or fight over them in a second Russo-Japanese war. But Chang Tso-lin is not likely to be satisfied with a Manchurian kingdom. He is seeking a Chinese empire with himself as the founder of a new imperial dynasty. At the present time of writing he controls northern China proper. The anti-foreign movement is probably interfering with his plans, for it forces him to appear to be patriotic and to support the shadowy Central Government at Peking, of which he is at present the dictator.[2] In his arsenals and camps at Mukden he is busily turning out ammunition and training his men in preparation for the next struggle with the rival military leaders and political parties in other parts of China. So that the independence of Manchuria is not likely to come through the ambitious Chang.

Manchuria's fate is doubtless bound up with the success or failure of the Central Government to acquire power.

[2] Since the above was written, Chang Tso-lin was driven out of Peking by the Cantonese Nationalist army and died under mysterious circumstances. Thus took place another turn in the kaleidoscopic picture of Chinese politics.

If Peking becomes powerful, it can not only retain Manchuria as a part of the Chinese Republic, but can also regain what has been lost in the form of concessions to the Russians and Japanese. As indicated above, the leases of the Kwangtung territory and of the S.M.R. terminate in 1997 and 2002 respectively, and a strong government might be able to terminate them still earlier. Article IX, Section 2 of the Sino-Russian treaty of May 31, 1924, reads as follows: "The Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics agrees to the redemption by the Government of the Republic of China, with Chinese capital, of the Chinese Eastern Railway, as well as all appurtenant properties, and to the transfer to China of all shares and bonds of the said Railway."

If the Peking Government remains weak, it will have to stand by and look on while Manchuria becomes the scene for the conflict between imperialistic Japan and Bolshevistic Russia. How soon that war will come and what its outcome will be no one can foresee. Whatever that outcome may be, perhaps the safest guess is that little Japan will eventually be eliminated and the fate of eastern Asia will be decided between Russia and China.

Chapter XX

WESTERN EDUCATION AND CHINESE STATESMEN

INSIDE the southeastern corner of the Forbidden City in Peking stands an old Buddhist temple which has been renovated. Around the beautiful courtyard are the rooms occupied by the Western Returned Students' Club. Here I was entertained several times and had the privilege of meeting Chinese statesmen, scholars, writers, and educators.

One of the items of information furnished a foreigner concerning a Chinese statesman is that he is or is not a Western returned student. This indicates one of the most significant classifications which can be made of Chinese statesmen. Those who have studied in America or Europe are on the average younger, and most of them did not enter politics until after the revolution of 1911. Many of the others had already attained positions of importance under the imperial régime. They are more numerous and perhaps still exercise a predominant influence. It is safe to say that the returned students are on the whole more progressive and liberal and the other group more conservative and reactionary.

Owing to the instability of the Government since the revolution, there have been many cabinets and more than the usual number of ministers. In order to illustrate the relative influence of these groups, I will describe briefly the personalities and careers of five former prime ministers.

When the German crown prince visited the Emperor of China, a palace was erected to house him, and equipped with European furniture of a most florid style. German crown princes and Chinese emperors are, happily, things of the past. This building is now occupied by the Waichiao Pu or Foreign

Office. Most of the rooms have been turned into offices, though the large ballrooms are sometimes used for state and diplomatic receptions.

In his office as director-general of the Commission for Sino-Russian Affairs at the Foreign Ministry I was received by Wang Cheng-ting, better known to foreigners as Dr. C. T. Wang.[1] He is sparely built, with an aquiline nose and clear-cut features, dressed in a dark Chinese costume but with Western manners.

Dr. Wang was born perhaps fifty years ago in Chekiang, a province on the east coast south of Shanghai. He studied in the Pei-yang government university at Tientsin and became a teacher. Later he studied in Japan for four years while he was Y.M.C.A. secretary at Tokio. Then he went to America and studied law for three years at Yale University, where he graduated in 1910. He made his political début as the chief of diplomatic affairs at Wuchang for General Li Yuan-hung, the commander of the revolutionary forces who was later the vice-president and president of the republic. Dr. Wang was minister of commerce and industry in the first republican cabinet. Then he became vice-president of the Senate until he was unseated by Yuan Shih-kai. After Yuan's death Wang returned to the same position. In 1918 he joined the more radical southern movement against the military government in Peking. In 1919 he was one of the Chinese delegates to the Peace Conference in Paris. Later he was minister of justice and then minister of foreign affairs. From December, 1922, to January, 1923, he was acting prime minister. In 1925 he was chairman of the Chinese delegation at the international tariff conference in Peking.

We began our conversation with a discussion of the tariff restrictions imposed upon China by the Western powers.

[1] He is to be distinguished from Wang Chung-hui or Dr. C. H. Wang, also a Western returned student and acting prime minister in 1922 and 1924, more recently the Chinese representative on the International Court at The Hague, and the Chinese delegate to the extraterritoriality conference in Peking in 1925 and 1926.

Dr. Wang denounced these restrictions not only because they reduce the government revenues but also because they impede the industrial development of China. He asserted that the Western nations lose more than they gain through these restrictions, because the purchasing power of the Chinese is thereby lessened.

Dr. Wang asserted that communism has been tried in China and failed. He gave me a pamphlet concerning Wang An-shih, the protagonist of this attempt, who flourished about the years A.D. 1055-85. This experiment was only partial and under a paternalistic imperial rule, so that it has little significance for modern scientific communism. The modern Wang may or may not be right in asserting that China is not well adapted to communism, partly because the distribution of property is more equal than in many countries, so that a leveling process is not so much needed. He expressed himself as not opposed to communism in principle or to private Bolshevist propaganda, but wishes to negotiate a commercial treaty with Russia which will safeguard Chinese property rights.

While he admitted that the Chinese codes and courts can be considerably improved, he declared that extraterritoriality is not justified. Injustice may be committed anywhere. The foreign concessions in the treaty ports would be of no significance if extraterritoriality were abolished.

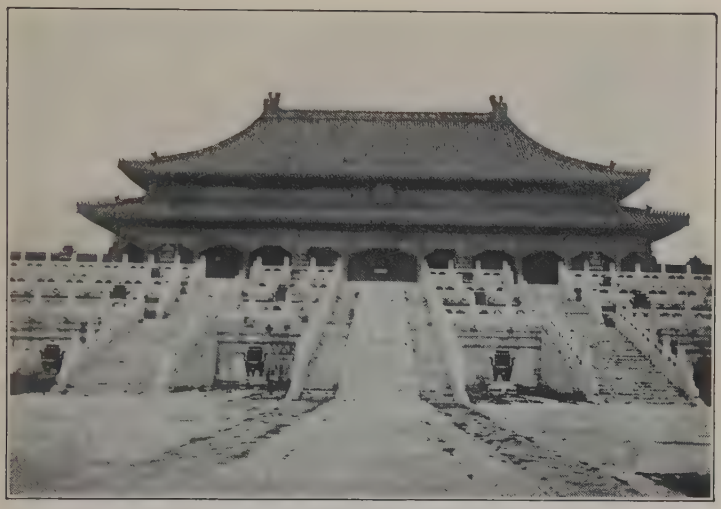
In conclusion, Dr. Wang declared that China must develop military power in order to secure its rights. He averred that there is no danger of an aggressive and imperialistic militarism, because the Chinese are a pacific people. The Chinese Empire grew through the spread of Chinese civilization and not by force. In giving expression to these vagaries Dr. Wang was repeating the popular notions of each country respecting itself. But it surprised me to hear them from so shrewd a man. Even without historical evidence to the contrary, it would be incredible that so vast an empire could have come into existence without the aid of arms. I wonder

what Dr. Wang thinks about the Chinese armies which marched as far west as the Caspian Sea under the Han dynasty (206 B.C.-A.D. 221), or the conquest of Korea under the T'ang dynasty (A.D. 618-907). Within the last thirty years Chinese punitive expeditions have competed with similar British expeditions into Tibet, which China claims as its vassal state.

In the northeastern section of the Tartar city in Peking I entered a large gate and passed through an outer and an inner courtyard. In the reception-room six high, uncomfortable chairs of the conventional model were arranged in an open square. Over the central chairs was a scroll in imperial yellow on which was inscribed a message from a former emperor. Presently came my host, a tall, thin man with a long, flowing white beard, clad in a pale blue gown. This was Sun Pao-chi, classical scholar, poet, imperial governor, and republican prime minister.

Mr. Sun was born at Hangchow in Chekiang in 1867. He attained high rank in the examinations for official positions. In 1902 he became minister to France, in 1906 governor of Peking, in 1907 minister to Germany, and in 1909 governor of Shantung. When this province declared its independence in 1911, he was appointed its president. But when it returned to the imperial rule two weeks later, he resigned in a penitent memorial. In 1913 he was minister of foreign affairs and acting prime minister, in 1916 minister of finance, and prime minister from January to July, 1924. In his letter of resignation he made the following rather naïve statements: "I hoped to effect the unification of the nation, but chaos seems to have been aggravated. I hoped to give relief to the people, but I now see suffering on all sides. Each political party gives such a different view on current politics that one is at a loss to follow the right advice."

I can easily believe that he was much confused, because he looks more like a poet than a statesman. We discussed the instability of the Central Government, which he attributed



IMPERIAL PALACE, PEKING

ITINERANT BARBERS ON HATAMEN STREET, PEKING. ONE OF THEM IS SHAVING A MAN'S HEAD

in part to the political factions but mainly to the military leaders. He expressed the opinion that the people will gradually take away the power of the militarists and reduce their armies. The foreign concessions in the treaty ports he denounced because they are used as places of refuge by the militarists and political offenders. I asked him if he considered the agitation against the British justified and he replied affirmatively, saying that the British have gradually usurped the power which they now exercise in China.

Soon after our conversation Mr. Sun was appointed the first Chinese ambassador to the Soviet Union. He is hardly the man to understand the soviet system or the complicated relations between China and Russia. The Chinese Government appointed a conservative probably in order to avoid any appearance of being sympathetic with bolshevism.

When our conversation terminated, Mr. Sun insisted upon accompanying me to the outer entrance, even though my companion, an attaché from the Foreign Office who had acted as interpreter, protested at every doorstep. Later this attaché asked me if I realized the significance of this act, and explained that the farther a host accompanies his guest the greater the degree of honor shown, so that by accompanying me to the street Mr. Sun had shown me the highest honor. This was, I believe, characteristic of his kindly and courteous nature, for he impressed me as being a gentleman of the old school somewhat at sea in the existing confusion of new and old ideas in China. Later I received from him his photograph on which was inscribed in Chinese characters: "Presented as a little token by Sun Pao-chi."

In the grounds of the Winter Palace in Peking is a small villa which is now the office of the Commission for the Readjustment of Finance. Here I called upon its chairman, Yen Hui-ch'ing, known to foreigners as Dr. W. W. Yen, university professor, diplomat, and prime minister. He was in European dress and seated at a businesslike desk of Western make.

Born at Shanghai in 1877, he studied in the college and law departments of the University of Virginia, becoming a member of the Phi Beta Kappa Society. Later he attained one of the highest ranks in the official examinations. From 1900 to 1906 he was professor of English in St. John's University, Shanghai, and edited the Anglo-Chinese Dictionary. From 1908 to 1910 he was diplomatic secretary in Washington, and then director of the press bureau in the Foreign Ministry. He was vice-minister of foreign affairs in 1912, and minister to Germany and Denmark in 1913 and again in 1918 to 1920. He became foreign minister in 1920, and acting prime minister in 1921 and again in 1922. He was minister of agriculture and commerce and then of the interior in 1924, prime minister from September to November, 1924, and again for some months in 1926.

After discussing Chinese civilization at some length, we turned to the existing situation. As to the immediate future, Dr. Yen believes that an oligarchy must rule until the people become educated and the military leaders are overthrown. Even now the Central Government administers justice, the post, taxes, and foreign affairs, so that it has considerable authority in spite of the militarists.

I asked him if there was any point which he would like to emphasize. He referred to the fact that the number of factory laborers is certain to increase rapidly in the near future. Consequently, it is very important that the Government should be able to regulate the conditions under which these laborers work. Extraterritoriality should, therefore, be abolished, because it prevents the Government from supervising the conditions under which the laborers in the foreign-owned factories work.

When I left, Dr. Yen took me to an adjoining room where stands a beautiful figure of Buddha several feet in height, carved out of white jade and decorated with many jewels. In front of the building stands a huge stone bowl, several feet in diameter, on the outside of which are carved many

kinds of animals. Thus does the art of ancient China embellish the place of work of modern Chinese scholarship and statesmanship.

Liang Shih-yi was born in 1869 in Kwangtung province in southern China, and studied in Japan. Prior to the revolution he was director of the railways, director of the posts, etc. In 1912 he was minister of communications, and later director-general of the customs and of the Bureau of Taxes. In 1916 he promoted Yuan Shih-kai's attempt to make himself emperor, and resigned from office when it failed. He returned to public life in 1918 as speaker of the Senate. In December, 1921, he was appointed prime minister by Marshal Chang Tso-lin, the Manchurian "war lord." His appointment was rejected by Marshal Wu Pei-fu, a rival militarist. In May, 1922, Liang was ordered under arrest for trial when his military patron, Chang Tso-lin, was defeated by the Chihli party in a civil war which arose in part as a result of his appointment as prime minister. He escaped from Peking for regions where the Central Government had no authority. In 1925 he returned and became the president of the Bank of Communications, one of the largest banks.

Mr. Liang invited me to his house, where I was received in a conventional reception-room with the usual uncomfortable chairs, but with beautiful drawings of trees on the walls. However, in the corner were European easy chairs on which we made ourselves comfortable. His secretary, a Harvard graduate, acted as interpreter.

Remembering his monarchical adventure with the tyrannical and unscrupulous Yuan Shih-kai, I asked Mr. Liang if he thinks it desirable to restore the empire. This he denied and asserted that preparations would soon be completed for a constitutional and parliamentary government. I inquired whether the militarists would tolerate such a government. He replied that they would not dare to interfere if the Government does right (whatever that may mean). This was a surprisingly optimistic view for so astute a man to take, but

Liang has played around with the militarists so much that he cannot very well speak ill of them.

We turned to fiscal matters, which concern Mr. Liang particularly. The provinces now take most of the revenue, leaving little for the Central Government. I remarked that it could not be otherwise so long as there are a million and a half or more soldiers at large under the command of irresponsible military governors who pay little heed to the Central Government. He replied that the Government cannot reduce the army until it has money enough to establish the soldiers in profitable occupations.

Then we discussed various taxes, such as the land tax, the proceeds from which are taken almost entirely by the provincial governments; the income tax, which exists in name but which has hardly been collected at all; the inheritance tax, which so far as I know does not exist in China, etc. Mr. Liang thanked me for the "advice" which he said I had given. This was because I remarked in passing that one of the fundamental principles of taxation is to distribute the burden in accordance with the ability to bear it, and that such taxes as the income and inheritance taxes have great social utility because they mitigate in a measure the great inequality in the distribution of wealth. I had not intended this remark as advice, but hope that it will nevertheless have a slight effect.

Liang Shih-yi has a hard and impassive face. He is reputed to be shrewd and to have acquired much wealth. Some weeks prior to our conversation, when Marshal Chang Tso-lin visited Tientsin, it was reported that he wished Liang to become prime minister. I asked Mr. Liang about this rumor. He replied that he had refused the prime ministership at that time because he believed that Marshal Tuan Shi-jui, who was then the provisional chief executive, should be left free to work out the details of constitutional and parliamentary government.

At his home in the International Settlement at Shanghai

I talked with Tong Shao-yi, China's most famous statesman. Mr. Tong was educated in the United States about the year 1880 and entered public life early in his career. He was with Yuan Shih-kai in Korea before the Sino-Japanese War. In 1904 he was special commissioner to Tibet and India. From 1907 to 1909 he was governor of Fengtien province in Manchuria. In 1911 he was minister of communications. In 1912 he became the first prime minister of the republic. From 1919 to 1922 he was minister of finance in the Canton Government.

We discussed at length the political situation in China. He denounced the Central Government and the statesmen in Peking, whom he accused of being the puppets of the militarists. He asserted that the people will eliminate the militarists eventually. If Mr. Tong, who is in his sixties and still vigorous, would come out of his retirement in Shanghai, where, like many other Chinese statesmen and politicians who have taken refuge in foreign concessions even though they denounce these concessions, he lives in safety and comfort under foreign protection, he might be able to assist in remedying this situation.

So long as the militarists do what they please and fight each other at will, the statesmen in Peking can have little influence, with the possible exception of Liang, who stands close to some of the militarists. This state of affairs cannot endure indefinitely. Civil wars must cease, and the militarists will be driven out eventually. Sun Pao-chi and his type will probably never again have a commanding influence in public affairs. Liang Shih-yi may become prime minister if the Cantonese do not conquer northern China. It will take some time to overcome the prejudice and envy directed against the men of Western training and education. But men like C. T. Wang, W. W. Yen and C. H. Wang, whom I did not meet, will doubtless come to the fore again. C. T. Wang is reputed to be shrewder than Yen, but is not so widely trusted. Yen is rather slow-witted, but is more solid. Some years hence,

when there is a stable government, Yen may become the president of the republic, and the same may be true of C. H. Wang.

Fifteen or twenty miles from Peking the western hills raise their blue summits against the setting sun. For many centuries these hills and the mountains beyond served as a barrier against the warlike hordes of Mongolia. The new Peking-Suiyuan Railway, the only railroad in China constructed without foreign assistance, follows the ancient highway to Urga, the capital of Mongolia, as far as Kalgan. At Nankow it enters the South Pass and climbs until at Chinglungchiao it passes in a tunnel under the Great Wall. Then it crosses a broad plateau before entering the mountains again. At the North Pass, guarded by the western branch of the Great Wall, beyond which is Mongolia, lies Kalgan. In this frontier city sat at the time of my visit Marshal Feng Yu-hsiang, known outside of China as the "Christian" general, or sometimes as the "Red" general.

Feng was born, perhaps fifty years ago, in humble circumstances and received no education. He entered the army and worked his way up from the ranks. His success as an officer has been due largely to the loyalty he inspires in his men because of the deep interest he takes in their personal affairs. He has educated himself to a certain extent. The stories differ as to how he was converted to Christianity. It had a marked effect, for it made him a militant, belligerent, and vociferous Christian.

Feng's headquarters were in a new compound outside of Kalgan. In his small and plainly furnished office I talked with the marshal. He was clad in a simple white canvas suit, with no insignia indicating his rank. Feng is tall and rather corpulent but powerfully built. His face is smooth shaven, and his closely cropped head rises considerably from front to back. His expression is heavy and rather dull and his physique and appearance give an impression similar to that of an ox.

I asked Feng if it is not dangerous to have several armies

under different commanders more or less independent of each other, and he replied affirmatively. Then I inquired how this divided authority can be unified, and suggested two possibilities—namely, the rise of a Napoleonic character who would acquire supreme power, or an alliance between the rival generals. He said that a Napoleon is neither right nor likely. Furthermore, military power is very uncertain and cannot long endure.

I asked the marshal whether he thinks the present anti-Christian movement will be permanent or not. He responded that Christianity alone can save China. All Christians are "sons of God" and should treat each other as brothers. But those who seek commercial profit, the imperialists and similar persons, are not Christians. He mentioned the missionaries, for whom he has little or no respect. Too many of them live luxuriously instead of lives of sacrifice. I referred to the social welfare work of the Buddhist churches in Japan and inquired whether it is not possible for religions other than Christianity to inspire the social spirit and for irreligious persons to share this spirit. He conceded this point grudgingly and with narrow qualifications, but went on to compare Christianity with the effulgence of electric bulbs and the other religions with the weak and wavering light of oil lamps and candles.

I asked him if the anti-foreign and especially the anti-British feeling, by stimulating strong nationalist feeling, will not hinder China from striving for international coöperation and organization. Feng and I were seated side by side facing the interpreter. When my question was translated, Feng became much excited. Turning toward me he inquired how any one would feel who sees his unarmed countrymen, especially boys and girls, shot down in cold blood. This is a matter of conscience, he exclaimed, as he pressed his hands against his breasts, and of national feeling, and has nothing to do with internationalism. His eyes narrowed, his teeth showed, his lower jaw protruded, and his countenance took

on an almost bestial expression. I had to restrain an instinctive impulse to shrink away.

I expressed my sympathy, but pressed my question. At this point the chief of his diplomatic bureau, a graduate of Yale and Princeton universities, who was acting as interpreter, tried to make Feng understand that I was not questioning the injustice of the Shanghai massacre of 1925 and similar incidents, but was endeavoring to ascertain his opinion as to the future foreign policy of China. Feng began to calm down and said that he is not opposed to British labor, but to those who are responsible for such incidents. He added that he favors international conferences.

Feng makes his soldiers work more than most of the militarists. They build roads, dikes, and the like. He is trying to encourage colonization along the Peking-Suiyuan Railway. Lecturers with lantern slides are sent into various provinces to advertise this region. In many provinces it is difficult to induce the people to emigrate. The inhabitants of Shantung, which is one of the most densely populated provinces, are more disposed to emigrate, because this province has always furnished many soldiers who become accustomed to traveling in different parts of the country.

Feng's troops often march to work singing. I could not identify any of the songs or tunes. An American told me that he has heard them singing the hymn "Hark, the herald angels sing," or its Chinese equivalent. I saw a group going to class, each with a booklet in his breast-pocket. On an athletic field I saw them playing basket-ball. In a large building which looked like an armory I heard a band playing loudly but not melodiously on Occidental instruments. The sounds were so incoherent that I could not determine whether they were trying to play European or Chinese music. Feng's soldiers are neater and cleaner than most Chinese troops. It is said that he forbids drinking and smoking. On the walls in Kalgan were inscriptions and crude drawings depicting the evils of opium-smoking. His gendarmes wear on their arms

badges which express the following amiable sentiments: "We do not rob the people. We love the people and work for the welfare of our country."

The above description indicates a strange mixture of good and evil in Marshal Feng. He has a genuine interest in the welfare of his men, and perhaps also, in a narrow sense, in China's welfare. He engages in obvious physical undertakings, such as the construction of roads, the draining or irrigation of land, and the like. It is very doubtful whether he is capable of planning anything on a broad and constructive scale.

There are various interpretations of his betrayal of Marshal Wu Pei-fu in 1924, when he deserted Wu while fighting Chang Tso-lin, took possession of Peking, and transferred the young ex-emperor to Tientsin. Feng has a bad record as to treachery. It has often been his policy to sit on the fence until he could determine which way the wind was blowing, and then to take advantage of the misfortunes of the loser. Many stories are told of his brutality which seem to indicate that he is as bad as the average militarist in this regard. He lacks self-control and is inordinately vain, as is indicated by his fondness for the limelight. And yet he seems to possess a low cunning which may enable him to defeat his rivals and make himself for a time the dictator of China. It is indeed a sad commentary upon the parlous state into which China has fallen that such a ludicrous as well as tragic situation could be even remotely possible.

Western education was introduced by missionaries and Western governments which had made conquests in the Orient. European settlements, such as the cantonments in India and the foreign concessions in China, furnished examples of Western modes of living. Many Easterners were encouraged to go to Europe and America to study. The Japanese and Chinese went mainly to the United States, which was at first more accessible. The Indians went chiefly to Great Britain. Thus the Western education which the Orient has

received has been largely of an Anglo-Saxon character, and English is the best-known European language in the East.

The missionary influence is rapidly decreasing, and Western domination will be eliminated eventually. But Oriental governments and institutions will probably continue to imitate Occidental educational methods more and more. As will be indicated in the following chapter, modern Oriental journalism was derived entirely from America and Europe. If the transformation of the East goes on at its present or an accelerated rate, it will result in the greatest cultural change which has ever taken place in so short a space of time.

As I have repeatedly pointed out, the feature of Occidental culture which the Orient needs most of all is its science.[2] Of religion it has plenty and to spare of its own. Its moral standards are probably better suited to itself than those of the West. It has already borrowed the applications of science to a certain extent but has not yet acquired its spirit and theory. It is imitating Western industrial methods and to a smaller degree imbibing the economic ideas which underlie those methods. It has borrowed much of the law of the West and some of its political institutions, and is in imminent danger of embracing its patriotism, militarism, and imperialism.

The Orient has as yet taken little of the philosophy, art, and literature of the Occident. In its business buildings and factories Western architecture has been imitated because it is better adapted to these purposes, but much less in its domiciles, temples, and other structures. The upper classes are imitating Western modes of living to a certain extent in dress (more by the men than by the women), diet, furniture, and in a common social life for men and women. But

[2] Russell says that the aim of Young China should be "the preservation of the urbanity and courtesy, the candor and the pacific temper, which are characteristic of the Chinese nation, together with a knowledge of Western science and an application of it." (Bertrand Russell, "The Problem of China," New York, 1922, pp. 264-5.)

for the great masses of the East the marital and family life and the position of woman still remain much the same.

The Nationalist movement may hinder this process of Westernization to a certain extent. Such events as the victory of the Japanese over the Russians in 1905, the European War of 1914 to 1918, the Amritsar massacre in 1919, and the Shanghai, Hankow, and Canton riots in 1925, have injured Western prestige greatly. But whether for good or for ill, the economic factors may prove to be the strongest, and may sweep the Orient into the same course of industrial and political development as has characterized the Occident during the past two or three centuries. How much of a distinctively Eastern culture will survive when this overwhelming wave has passed over the Orient it is impossible to surmise.

Chapter XXI

THE LINGUISTIC BOND AND ORIENTAL JOURNALISM

WHEN I wanted my rickshaw coolie to hasten, I would say "you chop-chop go," and he would usually reply "can do" or "no can do." This is "Pidgin-English," which, like the "lingua franca" of the Levant, is used from Japan to India and in Oceania as a means of communication between the natives and foreigners. It is a jargon based upon English, with a picturesque intermixture of Chinese, Hindustani, Portuguese, French, etc. The word "pidgin" is said to have been derived as follows: business—busin—pishin—pidgin. This hybrid language evolved largely in Canton and along the Chinese coast during the early days of trade with the West.

"Chop-chop" from the Cantonese, in "chop-sticks" means to hasten eating. "Chow" in Cantonese means dinner or a feast, and in pidgin, food, while "chow-watta" is drinking-water. "Chin-chin" is Chinese for "please" and becomes a greeting in pidgin. "Chin-chin joss" is to worship, "joss" coming from the Portuguese "dios." "Compradore" for middleman between foreign and native merchants also came from Portuguese. "Savey" for to know came from French, and in Indo-China wine is "encore," indicating a frequent use of this beverage. Through employees of the East India Company came from Hindi "bund" (band = embankment or dike) for a boulevard fronting on water, "pukka" for genuine, and "griffin" for a new arrival in the Orient or a young racing pony. Luncheon is always "tiffin" even for foreigners among themselves, and a message is a "chit."

The missionary is graphically described as "number-one-

go-to-heaven-man," and in Oceania God becomes "big masta fella." To read is "look book." "What side" is where, "catchee" is to get, and "no plenty" is few. "What time" is when, "all time" is always, and "bimeby" is soon. The verb is conjugated as follows: "me go," I go; "bimeby me go," I will go; "me go finish," I went.

The letter "r" is little used by the Chinese and therefore becomes "l," while the letter "d" is also difficult to pronounce. The butler announces dinner to his mistress as "chow-chow allee leady, missee." "Fly lice" for fried rice, and "slow-belly" for strawberry are at first somewhat distasteful. A table-boy (waiter) apologizes for a broken egg with "me velly solly he bust."

Pidgin-English, which has attained the dignity of a dictionary, has also its literature. The laudable maxim "If at first you don't succeed, try, try again," becomes "S'pose some t'ing you no can do, then do him till you could." The famous nursery song illustrates the Chinese dislike for words ending in certain consonants.

Singee songee sick a pence,
  Pockee muchee lye;
Dozen two time blackee bird
  Cookee in ee pie.

When Oriental tradesmen try to use classical English, they sometimes produce rather startling results. An ambitious general merchant announces "any mortal thing can do"; a leather dealer, "skinney munitions"; a tailor, "ladyes have fits upstairs"; and a barber, "gentlemens throats nicely cut." Foreigners have doubtless made as egregious and ludicrous errors when trying to use Oriental languages.

When Sir Richard Burton visited China a half century ago he expressed the opinion that pidgin might "at no distant date" become the world's lingua franca. Recently it was reported that New Guinea has adopted pidgin as its official

language. Orientals sometimes use pidgin when ignorant of each other's languages. A common medium of communication is of great cultural significance. The outlook for pidgin is, however, not so favorable as it was in Burton's day.

European languages became known in the Orient in the order that traders, conquerors, and missionaries came from the West—namely, Portuguese, Spanish, Dutch, French, English, and German. Portuguese has disappeared except in the few small Portuguese colonies. Spanish persists in the Philippine Islands, but is rapidly being supplanted by English. Dutch is used in the East Indies, and French in Indo-China. The Germans came too late to acquire extensive possessions, and have lost their colonies since the European War. Prior to this war German had a certain vogue in Japan owing to Japanese admiration for the German economic, political, and military system. But the Japanese have forsaken German for English, whose greater commercial value they recognize.

As indicated in the preceding chapter, most of the Japanese, Chinese, and Indian students who have gone to the West have studied in Great Britain or the United States and have returned with a correct knowledge of English. The British conquest of India and other Oriental countries and the American conquest of the Philippines introduced English into many of the educational institutions of those countries. The British and American missionaries have done the same in most of their schools throughout the East. To a certain extent this was inevitable, because text-books, a general literature of, and a vocabulary for many of the subjects taught did not exist in the Oriental languages.

The foreign-language press in the Orient is principally in the English language and has done much to make English known. It has also had a vast influence upon Oriental journalism, as will be indicated presently. In view of the very small number of Westerners who reside and travel in the East, the large number of these foreign-language journals is at first

sight surprising.[1] It is due in part to the fact that many of the educated natives, especially in China, depend largely upon the foreign press for their news of the world. It is due also to the fact that many special interests consider it advisable to have organs of their own. In China this is true not only of the foreign interests, such as the British, American, and Japanese, but also of various Chinese political, commercial, and militarist groups, and a similar situation, but to a less extent, exists in Japan and several other Oriental countries.

In Tokio are the American "Japan Advertiser," and the Japanese "Japan Times." In Kobe are two British newspapers, the well-edited "Japan Chronicle" and the "Herald." In Osaka the "Mainichi," which claims the largest circulation of any newspaper in Asia, publishes also a daily in English. In Yokohama is the "Japan Gazette," in Nagasaki the "Press," and in Korea the "Seoul Press." These papers could hardly be supported by the seven or eight thousand Europeans and Americans in Japan, and depend in part upon a circulation among the Japanese. The same situation exists to a greater degree in China, where there are many more foreign-language newspapers.

In China are published numerous daily newspapers, as well as weeklies and monthlies, in English. In Peking are the American "Leader," the Japanese "North China Standard," and the Chinese "Daily News" and "Far Eastern Gazette." In Tientsin are the British "Peking and Tientsin Times" and "North China Daily Mail," and the American "North China

[1] In Japan in 1924 were residing 16,902 Chinese, 1870 Americans, 1848 British, 930 Germans, 818 Russians, 398 French, and a total of 24,122 foreign residents, of whom more than two thirds were Chinese.

In China in 1924, according to the customs estimate, were residing 198,206 Japanese, 85,766 Russians, 14,701 British, 8817 Americans, 3657 Portuguese, 2733 Germans, 2715 French, and a total of 320,829 foreign residents, of whom nearly two thirds were Japanese.

In India in 1921 were residing 174,057 Europeans and allied races, and 113,012 Anglo-Indians or Eurasians.

Star." In Shanghai are the British "North China Daily News," which publishes the weekly "North China Herald"; the "China Press," founded by Americans and at first owned by Americans and Chinese, which is now said to be British-owned; the British evening "Times" and "Mercury," and the Chinese "Evening News." In Hankow are the British "Central China Post" and the Chinese "Independent Herald." In Hongkong are the British "Daily Press," "China Mail," "South China Morning Post," and evening "Telegraph." In Canton is the Chinese "Gazette," and in Tsingtao the "Times." The French newspapers are the Shanghai "Echo de Chine," the "Journal de Pekin," and the "Echo de Tientsin." The other English-language newspapers are too numerous to mention here.

Journalism in its modern form has been learned by the Orient entirely from the Occident. In Japan the daily press began in Yokohama in 1871 and is modeled chiefly after the American pattern. The Japanese papers rival the American in their circulation, owing to the high degree of literacy due to the compulsory elementary school system for both sexes. According to the Japan Year Book, 1927, the total daily circulation is estimated at about 5,000,000, or one to every eleven or twelve of the population. The Osaka "Mainichi" and "Asahi" claim a circulation of about 700,000 each.

The first English-language newspaper in China was the "Canton Register," founded in 1827. The Chinese press made a very small beginning about the middle of the nineteenth century, at first copying most of its contents from the foreign-language press. There are now said to be more than one thousand Chinese dailies, weeklies, and monthlies. Shanghai is the principal journalistic center. Two of the Shanghai dailies, the "Shun Pao" and the "Sin Wan Pao," probably have a circulation of about 50,000 each. Like the Japanese press, Chinese journalism is modeled after the American pat-

PILGRIMS ON THE WAY TO KOYASAN, THE MOST SACRED BUDDHIST SHRINE IN JAPAN

MARKET DAY IN DARJEELING, INDIA. HERE ARE TO BE SEEN THE MONGOLIAN TYPES OF NORTHERN INDIA

tern. Owing to the small amount of literacy, the total circulation is far below that of Japan.[2]

In India are many British newspapers, some of the principal ones being the "Statesman" and "Englishman" of Calcutta, the "Times of India" of Bombay, the "Pioneer" of Allahabad, and the "Mail" of Madras. There is a much larger number of Indian newspapers published in the English language. Among the principal ones are the "Forward," "Bengalee" and "Amrita Bazaar Patrika" of Calcutta, the "Evening News of India" and "Indian Daily Mail" of Bombay, the "Hindustan Times" of Delhi, and the "Hindu" of Madras.[3] As the literacy in the native languages in 1921 was 22,600,000, or barely 7 per cent., and the literacy in English was only 2,500,000, the total circulation of these journals in proportion to the population must be very small.

The explanation for these Indian papers in the English language is the great diversity of tongues, of which 222 are returned by the census. This also explains why the transactions of the Indian National Congress and of many other congresses are conducted chiefly in English. In Bombay I was present at a *mahasabha* (great meeting) attended by many leaders from all parts of India, at which most of the speeches were in English. At its opening several little girls sang in a native language. I asked one of the leaders from Bombay what they were singing and he replied: "A hymn by a Bengalee poet." "Who is this poet?" said I. "His name is Tagore," he responded. In Western India the Bengalee language is as little known as Russian in England.

[2] See Y. P. Wang, "The Rise of the Native Press in China," Columbia University, New York, 1924.

"While China can justly claim the most ancient of the world's magazines and the oldest of newspapers in point of continuous publication, the daily press as it exists today in China, is, as the history of the European press in China shows, the result of the efforts of the Americans and British at Canton and Hongkong in this direction." (P. 16.)

[3] The Indian Year Book, 1927, states that in 1923-24 there were 1363 newspapers in India, but does not indicate how many of them were in the English language.

In fact, English has become the principal medium of communication for the educated Indians, and the language most used in the higher educational institutions. The following statistics of the principal languages are compiled from the census of 1921:

Western Hindi	96,714,000
Bengalee	49,294,000
Telugu (Dravidian)	23,601,000
Marathi	18,798,000
Tamil (Dravidian)	18,780,000
Panjabi	16,234,000
Rajasthani	12,681,000
Kanarese (Dravidian)	10,374,000
Oriya	10,143,000
Gujarati	9,552,000
Burmese (Mongolian)	8,423,000
Malayalam (Dravidian)	7,498,000
Lahnda or Western Panjabi	5,652,000

All of the above-mentioned languages, unless otherwise indicated, are Indo-European. The Indo-European languages, based upon Sanskrit, were spoken in 1921 by 232,846,000. They are written mostly in the Deva-nagari or Sanskrit characters. Urdu, called Hindustani by the British, is a form of Hindi with a considerable admixture of Persian and Arabic, and is written in Persi-Arabic characters. It originated during the Mohammedan domination and is spoken largely in the northwest and by many of the Moslems. It is generally recognized as the native official language.

The Dravidian tongues of the south belong to an entirely different linguistic family from the Indo-European. They were spoken in 1921 by 64,128,000. The principal Dravidian languages are Telugu, Tamil, Kanarese, and Malayalam.

The Tibeto-Chinese tongues of the north of India were spoken in 1921 by 12,885,000, and with Burmese belong to the Mongolian linguistic group. Compared with the Indo-

European and Dravidian languages they have played a very small part in Indian culture.

The factors which have been described—namely, conquests by Occidental powers, missionary activities, the influence of Western education and the foreign language press—have established English as the predominant European language in the Orient. To these factors must be added the tremendous economic, political, and cultural prestige of Great Britain and the United States in the present era. In fact, while traveling in the Orient it seemed to me that its predominance there might turn the scales in its favor as against its rival European tongues and make it the universal medium of communication the world over. In any case, it is not likely now that pidgin will become a universal lingua franca. While it is a picturesque and, to English-speaking peoples, amusing jargon, it is not sufficiently developed to serve as a cultural or even as an adequate commercial medium of communication.

There is much to be said in favor of English as a universal language. It is the mother tongue of more people than any other language except Chinese; and Chinese is divided into several dialects which are not mutually comprehensible, so that it is a question whether it is a single language or a family of languages. English, on the contrary, is so much alike the world over that it is mutually comprehensible to all English-speaking peoples. As has been shown, it is by far the most widely diffused language. It has a tremendous commercial, political, and cultural prestige. It contains by far the most extensive literature both in the original and through translations. Thus English is at the present time the key to more doors than any other tongue.

English has a very rich vocabulary adequate for every need. Its grammar is simple, with little unnecessary elaboration of declension and conjugation. Its construction is fairly straightforward and logical. It does not contain the imbecility of sex attributed to inanimate things, except in so far as the poets have introduced this pernicious practice. It is capable

of expressing many fine shades of meaning. In fact, there is almost a redundancy of ways of expressing the same or similar things.

English has, however, several grave defects.[4] It contains a good many irregularities in its verbs and plural nouns which are peculiarly difficult to master. It is much inferior as a spoken language to its character as a written language. Its accentuation often is uncertain and wavering. It contains a good many homonyms, that is to say, words with the same or very similar pronunciation but with different spellings and meanings. Its greatest fault is its orthography, which is largely unphonetic. In this undesirable trait it is surpassed only by the classical Chinese, which does not even pretend to be phonetic.

For the hapless foreigner who is trying to learn to speak English, its orthography is a bewildering and time-destroying obstacle. It is an enormous waste for the English-speaking peoples as well, each generation of which has to sacrifice much valuable time to master this stupid system. The Americans have taken a few steps toward reforming their spelling. They are held back by the British, most of whom regard this grotesque anachronism, as well as their equally grotesque currency and weights and measures, with the same blind veneration that the Chinese literati display toward their preposterous syllabary. The British ought to coöperate with their American brethren in removing this blot from the fair name of their common language.[5]

French has graver defects than English in its more complicated grammar, with many irregularities and two genders attributed to inanimate objects. German is even worse, with a still more complicated grammar with numerous irregu-

[4] Havelock Ellis has given an excellent discussion of the faults of the English language in his "Task of Social Hygiene," London, 1912, Chapter XI, "The Problem of an International Language."

[5] The most notorious instance of unphoneticism in the English orthography is the following: plough (ow), though (owe), through (oo), cough (off), rough (uff), hiccough (up), lough (ock).

larities and three genders attributed to inanimate objects, thus making confusion worse confounded. That the latter trait does not even arise out of a universally consistent tendency to sexualize natural objects is indicated by the fact that in French "*soleil*" is masculine and "*lune*" feminine, whereas in German "*sonne*" is feminine and "*mond*" is masculine. If any living language is to become a universal medium of communication, Spanish is probably the best fitted for this purpose. Its grammar is comparatively simple and regular. Its orthography is consistently phonetic. Its pronunciation is easy and euphonious. It is the mother tongue of many nations. But it has little commercial, political, and cultural prestige at present. If a dead language is chosen, the Occident would doubtless favor Latin, which is a logically constructed and compact language, while the Indians would probably advocate Sanskrit, which is the origin of many of their languages and one of the oldest of the Indo-European linguistic family.

If English fails to establish itself as the world's common medium of communication, an artificial language seems to be the most feasible solution for this serious problem. Three such languages have received some publicity—namely, Volapük, Esperanto, and Ido. The first failed and has disappeared entirely. The third professes to be an improvement on Esperanto, but has not yet succeeded in supplanting it. Esperanto is at the present time the most in vogue.

An artificial language possesses certain great advantages. It is entirely regular, so that after learning a rule it is not necessary to unlearn it in the case of many exceptions. It is derived in large part from roots contained in many living languages. The words are built up from the roots in a logical fashion by means of the addition of affixes which have definite and fixed meanings. The grammar is sufficiently flexible to express any meaning without being unnecessarily complicated and elaborate. It can grow and expand to meet new needs by combining roots and affixes in novel combinations. It does

not encounter the rivalry of living languages each of which resents ascendancy by any other. It is not cluttered up with a lot of etymological odds and ends, survivals from the past, such as obsolete and obsolescent expressions, redundant words and phrases derived from two or more linguistic sources, local idioms, dialects, and the like. It is in reality a living language pruned and cured of its worst faults.

It may be alleged that an artificial language cannot attain the graphic vividness of a living language which grows through slang, local variations, etc. Even if this be so, the purpose of an artificial language is to serve as an auxiliary and not necessarily to supplant any living languages. By means of a world-wide organization with a centralized control it can be held to norms of vocabulary, syntax, orthography, and pronunciation which will be equally useful the world over. Moreover, it may influence the various linguistic groups to hold their own mother tongues to similar norms. Like every other human institution which evolves spontaneously, language is clumsy, wasteful, and ill-adapted to attain its purpose. Conscious effort and forethought cannot fail to improve it considerably. Such a world-wide linguistic organization would also be a powerful force for developing an international spirit and promoting international peace.[6]

Esperanto is more or less widely diffused in many countries of Continental Europe, to a small extent in Latin-American countries, and to a very slight extent in English-speaking countries. It has a central organization, with its headquarters in Switzerland, which is endeavoring to promote more friendly international relations. To what extent an artificial language may serve as a means of communication between the Occident and the Orient remains to be seen. So far as I am aware, there is an Esperantist society in only one Asiatic country, Japan. Esperanto may very well appeal to the Indo-European languages of India, Persia, and Asia Minor. It cannot make

[6] For an excellent survey of this subject see A. L. Guérard, "A Short History of the International Language Movement," London, 1922.

as strong an appeal to the Mongolian, Dravidian, Malay, and other "non-Aryan" languages. Inasmuch as the largest of these linguistic groups, the Mongolian, is far less diffused than the Indo-European, no one of them can with justice demand an artificial language based upon itself.

In Japan there is a small so-called "Romanic" movement whose purpose it is to write Japanese in the Roman characters. Short of a predominant living language or an auxiliary artificial language, a common script would be useful in aiding the peoples of the world to learn one another's languages. It might be difficult, however, for some languages, such as Chinese, with its peculiar tonal values, to be written in such a common script.

The Oriental Nationalist movement may cause a reaction for a time against the use of European languages. In Hyderabad the minister of finance, who was formerly minister of education, described to me with great pride how he had changed the language of instruction in Osmania University, the highest educational institution of the state, from English to Urdu. I was shown the printing establishment, where hundreds of text-books which had recently been translated were being printed from stone blocks. The proponents of this change claimed that the students could learn better in their mother tongue, which in all probability is true. In this instance, however, this was not a wholly effective argument, because the great majority of the inhabitants of this state are Hindu, and most of the Hindus do not speak Urdu, which is the official language of the autocratic Moslem government of Hyderabad. So far as I am aware, no other Indian institution of learning which uses English has followed suit by changing to a native language.

In theory there is no more reason why the Orient should use a European language than there is for the Occident to use an Asiatic language. But for some time to come the Orient must learn a great deal from the science and literature of the West. In some ways it can do so more economically

through a European language, though this need not always be the case. In the long run the interpenetration and assimilation of culture between East and West will be greatly accelerated by a common medium of communication, whether that be English, another living language, or an artificial language.

Chapter XXII

WHAT CAN THE OCCIDENT LEARN FROM THE ORIENT?

EUROPEANS and Americans usually assume that their culture is superior to that of the Orient. Whether or not this assumption is correct, it renders the West more or less immune to Eastern influence. As I have repeatedly pointed out, the great majority of Westerners who have resided in the East have carried their own manners and customs with them to such a degree that they have learned little of the life and culture of the Orient. Even those who have written books about the East have usually displayed little genuine knowledge and no appreciation of Oriental culture. This was true of the earliest and most famous of them all.[1]

Marco Polo was a very matter-of-fact merchant who learned very little about the culture of the many Asiatic countries he visited and almost nothing about the intimate life of the people. Most of the information in his book is about material things, and being rather credulous even for his time he reported many impossible marvels. His estimates of distances were usually extraordinarily inaccurate. Though apparently loyal to Kublai Khan, who employed him during his long residence in China, he was very Christian and therefore could give no accurate information about the religions of the Chinese, whom he regarded as "idolaters." He was little concerned with moral questions, but when making moral judgments he invariably applied the European ethical code.

[1] "The Travels of Marco Polo (The Venetian)."
Polo was born in 1254, was traveling from 1271 to 1295, wrote his book in 1299, and died in 1324.

The missionary writers have been largely influenced by their religious bias, the imperialists have endeavored to justify their attempts to dominate the Orient, and the tourists have given very superficial and often condescending descriptions. Many of those who have devoted some effort to study the East have been one-sided in their criticisms.[2] Perhaps the best work has been done in the works on Oriental art by writers who were desirous of finding forms of art which are unknown in the Occident.

On the other hand, there have been a few writers who have conceived an uncritical and almost unbounded admiration for Oriental culture, which, while more amiable, is perhaps almost as egregious an error as that of those who can see little or no good in it. During the latter part of his life Lafcadio Hearn adopted the Japanese mode of living with his Japanese wife. Enamored by the beauty of Japanese art and the esthetic feeling displayed by the Japanese in many phases of their life, he ignored almost entirely the uglier aspects of that life. Sister Nivedita (Miss Margaret Noble) became an ardent devotee to Hindu religion before going to India. While working with and for Hindu women she acquired an intimate knowledge of the Indian home which she has portrayed in her writings. But with the zeal of the neophyte she attempted to justify and idealize almost every phase of Hindu life and religion.

H. Fielding Hall, though a British official, conceived a great admiration for Buddhism and the Burmese manner of living, which he has described in a somewhat romantic and rather uncritical fashion. Another British official, Sir John Woodruffe, became an ardent convert to Tantrism, which phase of Hindu religion he has zealously expounded. H. Keyserling, with chameleon-like facility, embraced in turn every Oriental

[2] A notorious example is Katherine Mayo, "Mother India," New York, 1927. While dealing with genuine evils, this book contains numerous inaccuracies and misinterpretations owing to Miss Mayo's total ignorance of the Indian cultural background. Its sensational, journalistic style has given it a large circulation, thus fomenting much ill feeling between India and the West.

religion and philosophy. However, the Orient, like the rest of the universe, serves him primarily as a background for his own exaggerated ego.

Reacting hostilely against Western capitalism and the Bolshevist dictatorship in Russia, Bertrand Russell was caught on the rebound by China, where he received a flattering reception from the modern Chinese intelligentsia. While more critical than some of the above-mentioned writers, he often displays an excessive admiration for Chinese culture.[3] Much more judicious is G. Lowes Dickinson, whose attitude toward the Orient is not unfriendly, but who does not hesitate to criticize severely and usually with acumen.

The Eastern literature concerning the West may be no better than the Western literature concerning the East. But most of the Orientals who have visited the Occident have come with the ardent desire and intention to learn, and have taken back with them much information which has already had a marked effect upon the East. Western criticism of the East is, through its literature, more or less widely known and is having a considerable influence in the Orient. Unfortunately, Oriental criticism of the Occident is almost unknown in the West. Few Oriental books are translated, so that the benefit of such criticism is lost.

During the Dark and Middle Ages the Greco-Roman culture was almost entirely submerged and the church throttled the European mind. While the West was passing through this period of barbarism, China was maintaining a much higher level of civilization, and the same was probably true

[3] Bertrand Russell, "The Problem of China," New York, 1922.

No people could attain to so high a degree of superiority as Russell attributes to the Chinese. "The Chinese are gentle, urbane, seeking only justice and freedom. They have a civilization superior to ours in all that makes for human happiness." (P. 175.)

He is nearer the truth when he says: "In art they aim at being exquisite, and in life at being reasonable. There is no admiration for the ruthless strong man, or for the unrestrained expression of passion." (P. 200.)

The following assertion is entirely correct: "We must make room for Asia in our thoughts, if we are not to arouse Asia to a fury of self-assertion." (P. 23.)

of India. Then came the renascence of learning, the development of science, geographical discoveries, numerous inventions, and the like, which enabled the Occident to forge rapidly ahead of the Orient. The East has many tangible and definite things to learn from the West in the way of science and its applications, political and economic theories, forms of social organization, and the like. What the West has to learn from the Orient is more intangible and therefore not so easy to define and describe. The preceding chapters of this book have suggested some of these lessons, which I will now endeavor to state in an orderly fashion.

Many of the Westerners who are favorably disposed toward the East believe that the Occident has much to learn from Oriental religion. In its popular form religion is perhaps even more degraded in the East than in the West. In its more esoteric phases Oriental religion is more philosophic and less militant. While there is no evidence whatsoever for life other than our present mundane existence, if such a life is postulated the Oriental conception of it is on the whole more logical and humane. Christianity and Islam each professes belief in a deity who is responsible for both good and evil in the universe and who creates both good and bad souls. Thus God and Allah each is to blame for the illogical and unjust fate of the bad soul.

The Oriental religions have not attained to the same grotesque extreme of ethical dualism. The Indian religions teach the doctrine of reincarnation, and through the spread of Buddhism this belief has reached eastern Asia. According to this doctrine the individual soul is eternal, and must attain its own salvation by working its way up from a lower to a higher plane. While Confucianism does not include a belief in reincarnation, its central doctrine of the self-development of the superior man is somewhat akin to this phase of the doctrine of reincarnation and encourages self-reliance and an austere self-discipline. From a scientific point of view the eternal soul of the doctrine of reincarnation is no more

plausible than the immortal soul created by a Semitic deity. But Oriental religion may be able to temper somewhat the harshness and crudity of Christian and Moslem theology and render it a more satisfactory sedative for the many who are not yet prepared in mind and character to accept the scientific conception of the universe.

There are other things of greater value than religion to be learned from the East. The Chinese family system and the Indian caste system represent lower forms of social organization to which the West cannot and should not revert. The political state furnishes a much broader form of social organization capable of accomplishing far more for mankind when directed toward that end. But the state and patriotism are in one respect more dangerous than the family and filial piety, because the former direct loyalty toward what may be made into a large and effective fighting body and thus render war more destructive and devastating.

The Western economic system is far more efficient and productive than the comparatively primitive economic system of the East. But it furnishes fewer guarantees of a permanent livelihood to the individual. The West cannot and should not pattern itself politically and economically after the East. But Oriental life affords the individual a certain measure of stability and security which the Occident should endeavor to introduce into its more progressive and complicated but less stable social organization.

Sex is the same everywhere, but its recognition and expression are considerably influenced by cultural factors. We have seen that the art of love is perhaps most highly developed in India, where the worship of sex is sometimes carried to a ludicrous and grotesque extreme. At any rate, this worship shows that the Hindus recognize the importance and significance of sex.[4] In eastern Asia also sex is frankly recognized,

[4] "The Hindu has never believed in the atrophy of any sense or sense-organ. He has therefore idealized and deified every human passion and every phase of human beauty. Sex with all its functions has thus its own apotheosis in the Hindu

but not worshiped and given a symbolic significance as in India.[5]

As we have seen, the early age at marriage characteristic of Oriental countries is due largely to the family system. The youth of both sexes are expected to accept the spouses chosen for them by their elders in the interest of their families, and to sacrifice any personal preferences which they may have. But early marriage is probably due in part to a recognition of the sexual need which arises as soon as puberty is reached.

In the Occident economic conditions, religious beliefs, and the prevalent ethical ideas have postponed the average age at marriage to several years beyond the time when this need arises. To that extent life is rendered unnatural and contrary to the biological and psychological demands of human nature.[6] Without borrowing the sacrifice of the individual to the family system, the Occident may well learn from the Orient a franker recognition of sex and a more adequate means of satisfying the sexual need. Western writers usually denounce early Oriental marriage for the evils often asso-

system of life and thought; and *Kama-shastra* or erotics is one of the oldest Indian sciences. The joys and griefs of amorous life are, therefore, as sacred as the joys and griefs of life in other spheres." (B. K. Sarkar, "Love in Hindu Literature," Tokio, 1916, p. 70.)

[5] "Eroticism has never been looked upon in China as debasing or sinful. Sex passion as such is appreciated without constraint as a natural instinct, just as the other instincts are. On the other hand, it is not given a mysterious and sacred meaning, nor is it looked upon as something to be worshipped." (Richard Wilhelm, "The Chinese Conception of Marriage," in "The Book of Marriage," edited by H. Keyserling, New York, 1926.)

[6] A British sexologist, Dr. Norman Haire, comments upon the age for normal matings as follows: "This brief outline of a rational sex-education leads us to the age of sexual maturity, which in temperate climates is complete, physically, at about sixteen years of age. At this age normal youths and maidens are ripe for mating. Puberty has ensued as a direct result of the increased activity of the gonads—the boy or girl is now an adult. Mating should occur without further delay. Long postponement of normal sexual activity may lead to physical and mental ill-health, to a continuance of auto-erotic activity (which in the adult is an unsatisfactory substitute for normal sexual intercourse, and which, if persisted in too long, may even lessen the person's fitness for normal mating), or to various forms of sexual aberration." ("Hymen or the Future of Marriage," London, 1927, pp. 51-52.)

ciated with it, but ignore the graver evil of belated Occidental marriage. A good deal of Occidental legislation is directed toward the postponement of mating, such as the laws placing the age of consent at sixteen years or higher, some of the laws concerning seduction and rape, etc. The West should, on the contrary, endeavor to facilitate normal mating at an early age by encouraging the economic independence of women as well as of men, and the free use of contraceptive measures.[7]

The very interesting and significant erotic literature of the Orient is almost entirely ignored by Western writers. The most voluminous treatise on Indian literature gives only five pages to its erotic section, and another voluminous German treatise gives only two or three pages.[8] The works in the English language characteristically ignore it completely, except a recent book which plagiarizes a page and a half from Winternitz.

As I have pointed out in Chapter IV, the life of the masses the world over is much the same in that they are primarily concerned with satisfying the elementary human wants. There are, nevertheless, many striking differences between Eastern and Western modes of thought and ideals which indicate norms established by thinkers and leaders who influence the common people in a measure.

The Occident exalts work, activity, and accomplishment, while the Orient appreciates leisure. The West values change, progress, and efficiency without clearly recognizing toward what goal. In the East is prevalent a belief in an eternal rhythm which renders no end possible. Recognizing the finitude of human endeavor in the face of cosmic infinity, the Orient inclines toward meditation and contemplation of a

[7] I have discussed these subjects at length in my "Personality and Conduct," New York, 1918.

[8] M. Winternitz, "Geschichte der indischen Literatur," Leipzig, 1905-20, 4 vols.; L. von Schroeder, "Indiens Literatur und Kultur," Leipzig, 1887.

I have not seen the following German work: R. Schmidt, "Beiträge zur indischen Erotik," Leipzig, 1902, second edition, Berlin, 1911.

rather passive sort, and is willing to renounce what apparently or in fact cannot be attained.

Partly owing to these differences of thought and ideal, Eastern life is simpler and more tranquil. Oriental society is stable rather than progressive. These phases of its life include features which the Occident may well emulate. The nerve-racking rush of Western life might be tempered by an appreciation of leisure as such, by an enjoyment of life for its own sake.

Oriental dress is not so capricious as to fashion and yet often more colorful. It is on the whole better adapted to climate, and usually does not cover and conceal the body as much as clothing in the Occident. A lighter and more temperate diet may well take the place of the heavy food, often drenched with alcohol, of Europe and America.

Oriental art is beginning to receive the recognition and attention which it deserves. Whether it be Chinese poetry or engraving, Japanese music or drawing, Indian painting or architecture, as to line, color, or appreciation of nature, the Occident has much to learn.

These are but suggestions of what the West can learn from the East. As I have emphasized early in this book, the Orient is divided into two great cultural zones, the Chinese and the Indian, with several minor cultural systems each of which is more or less closely related to one or the other of the two principal cultures. Which of these two is the most characteristic of the East it is needless to discuss here, and would in any case be more or less futile. Each has its lessons to teach which the Occident can learn if it will overcome its contempt for the Orient and egocentric self-satisfaction. The cultural diversity of the East renders it a richer field for the West to study.

In bringing to a close this survey and comparison of Oriental and Occidental culture, I wish to emphasize again the essential likeness and fundamental unity of mankind. Owing to this unity, culture is inevitably devoted to the

same ends the world over, for it has developed for the purpose of fulfilling the basic human needs and desires. Lofty mountain ranges, vast stretches of water, and other natural barriers have hitherto kept the Orient and Occident apart, and have given rise to noteworthy differences and contrasts in their manners, customs, and institutions—in other words, in their methods of attaining the fulfilment of these needs and desires.

While these differences may never disappear entirely, each of these two great divisions of mankind will profit greatly by availing itself of the best features of the other's culture. The natural barriers are rapidly being overcome, so that knowledge and mutual sympathy will take the place of ignorance and isolation. The Orient is already learning many things from Europe and America. It remains for the Occident to follow suit, and thus to play its part in developing a world-wide civilization shared by the whole of mankind.

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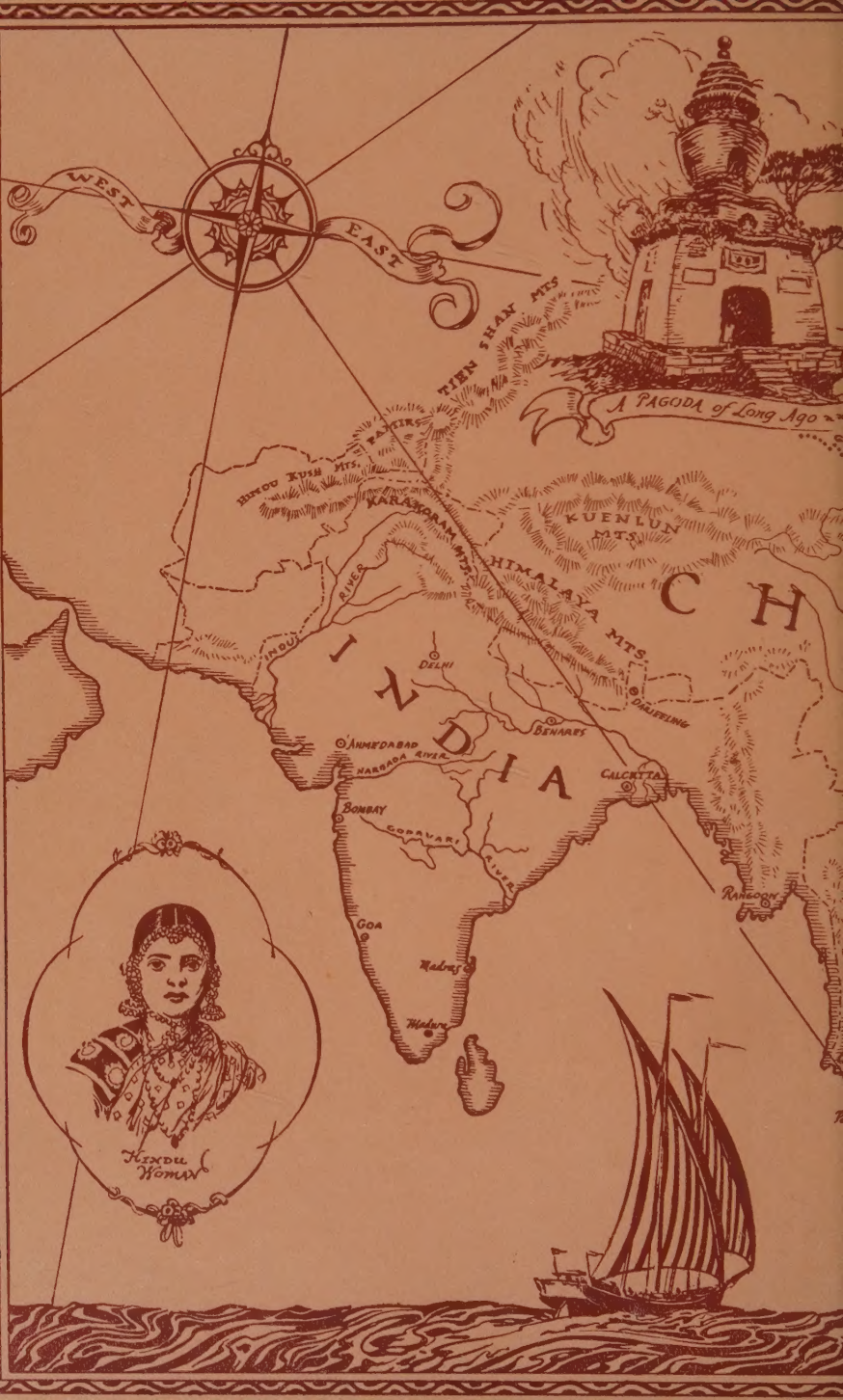
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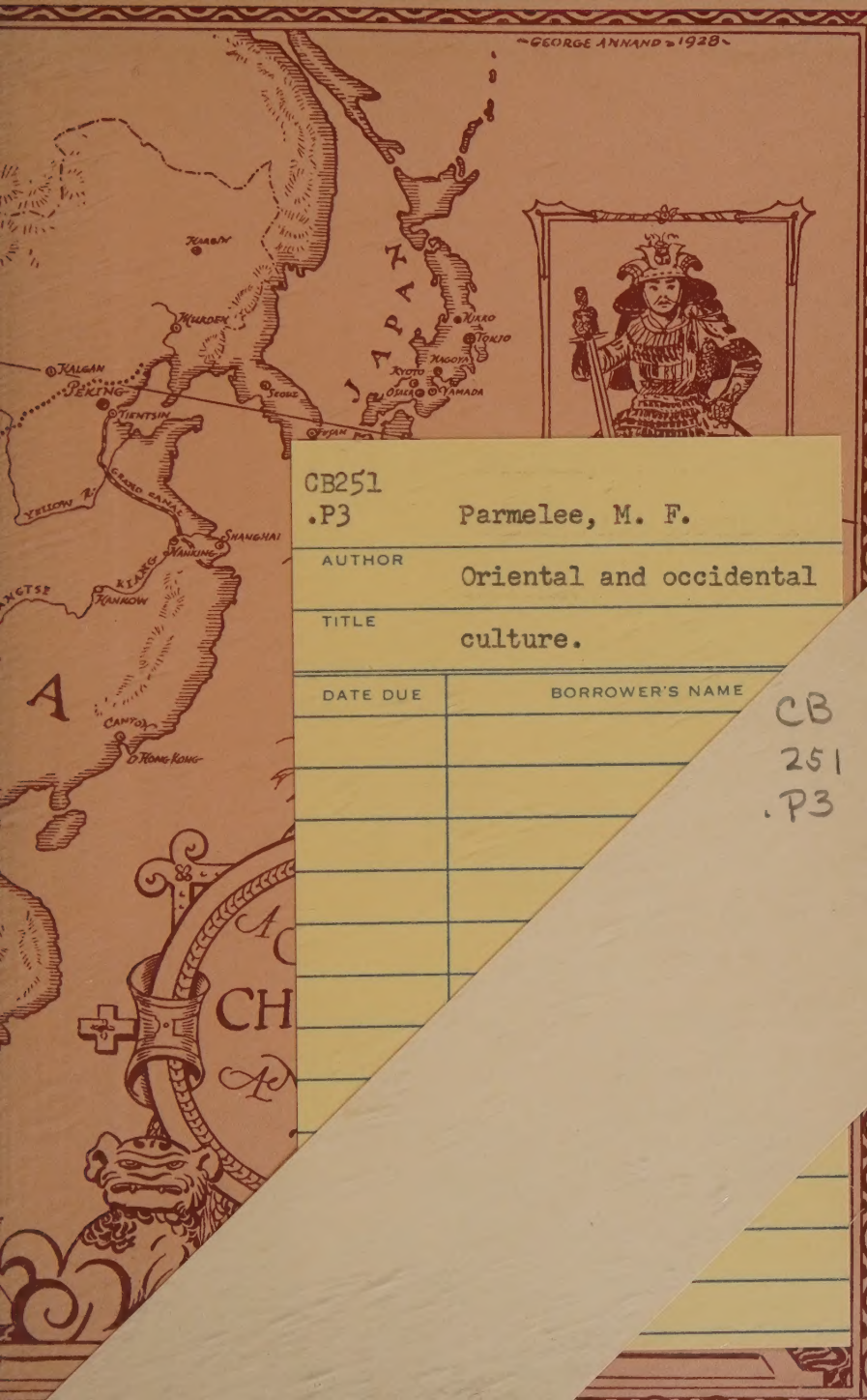

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